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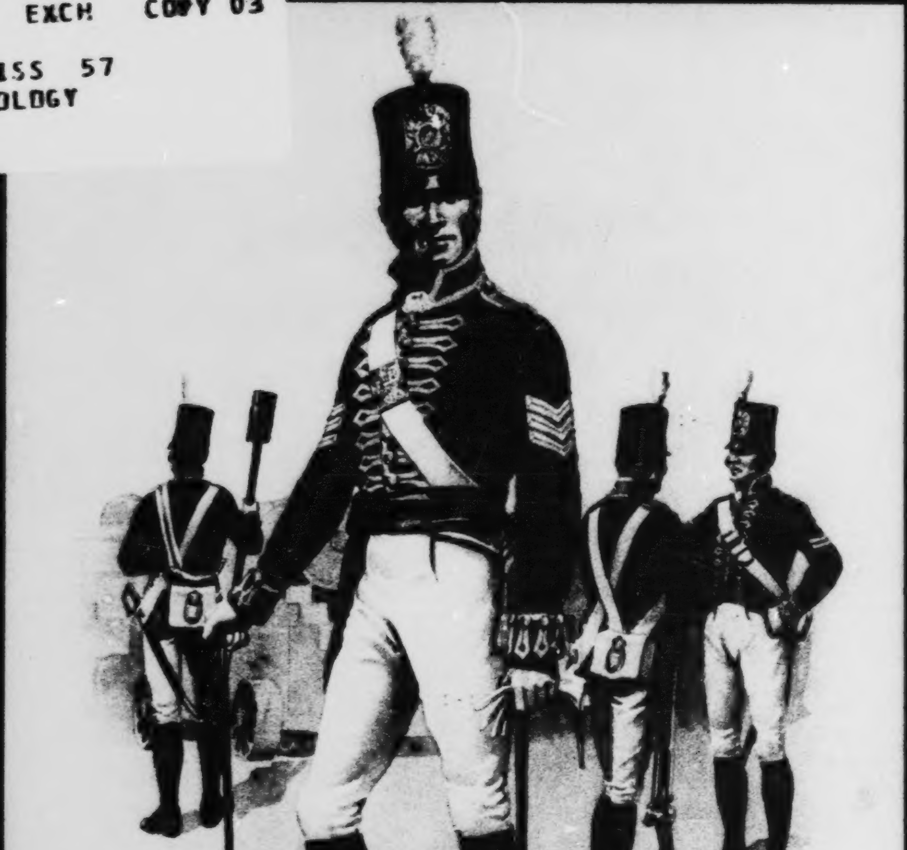

History and Archaeology
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3 THE ROYAL REGIMENT OF ARTILLERY IN QUEBEC CITY 1759-1871

Christian Rioux

147 MILITARY PROPERTY IN QUEBEC CITY 1760-1871

Claudette Lacelle

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Parks Canada
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Cover, front: Sergeant and soldiers of the Royal Artillery, ca. 1806-12, drawn by Charles Stadden.
Cover, back: Officer of the Royal Artillery, ca. 1779, by P.J. Loutherbourg. (Anne S.K. Brown Military Collection, Providence, R.I.)

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THE ROYAL REGIMENT OF ARTILLERY IN QUEBEC CITY: 1759-1871

Christian Rioux

Translated by the Department of the Secretary of State

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ABSTRACT

The Royal Regiment of Artillery was represented in Quebec City from 1759 to 1871 by approximately sixty companies in turn. This study is focussed on an analysis of certain aspects of the life of these gunners. At the outset, their place in the general organization of the British Army of the day is described, as well as their position within the Royal Regiment of Artillery, with some details of the specific relationships obtaining with the one and the other. Next we look at the strength of these companies in Quebec City, and relate fluctuations to circumstances and to the total strength of the regiment in Canada. Monthly variations are also dealt with, along with the proportion of men of various ranks and the number of dependent women and children. Subsequent sections are concerned with the principal social groups (officers on the one hand, non-commissioned officers and soldiers on the other) that made up the regimental hierarchy and point out the disparities existing between these two groups in respect of conditions of entry into the service, career possibilities and pay. Finally, the various duties of these artillery companies in a garrison town such as Quebec are described. The general purpose of the study is to bring out the differences between the artillerymen and the other troops in the garrison.

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INTRODUCTION

The Royal Regiment of Artillery held a unique position in the British army, and particularly among the land forces. Unlike the infantry or the cavalry, divided into their various regiments, the artillery was concentrated into a single regiment and subdivided into battalions comprising from eight to ten companies, an arrangement which made it possible to develop considerable *esprit de corps*, with a single device, uniform dress regulations and a single headquarters in Woolwich. While foot soldiers were dispatched to various garrions or to the colonies by regiments or battalions varying in strength from 500 to 1000 men, gunners were posted from one part of the British Empire to another in companies of 50 to 150. More often than not the various companies making up a particular battalion would be dispersed among a number of stations in the home country or abroad. Quebec, a fortified city taken by the British army in 1759, required its component of gunners. There were to be approximately 60 companies garrisoned there between that year and 1871, when the British garrison was finally withdrawn. The men were quartered in the barracks in what was then called Artillery Square, now an integral part of an historic site known as Artillery Park.

In this study various aspects of the presence of these companies in Quebec City are dealt with, with particular emphasis on those associated with and arising from the specific nature of the regiment. The entire 1759-1871 period has been covered, as it was felt that this would provide a more accurate view of the changes which occurred in this respect. On the other hand, we have chosen to retain for consideration only those aspects which appear to be most specifically related to the unique character of the Royal Regiment of Artillery.

At the outset, the administrative structures of the British army in general and the regiment in particular are examined, in so far as they involve the artillery companies referred to above. References to the senior military officials in the home country and to their representatives in Quebec City are included to provide a more accurate understanding of their relationship to and influence on the life of the gunners. The first chapter is therefore devoted to an examination of the administrative structures and senior officials governing these artillerymen.

The following chapter deals with the strength of those units of the Royal Regiment of Artillery stationed in Quebec City and in Canada. Variations in troop strength due to changing circumstances are associated with periods of war or peace. A closer examination is made of variations in monthly returns attributable to such factors as deaths, desertions, discharges and the arrival of new recruits. Finally, an attempt is made to determine the distribution, by rank, of those on strength at various times and, in addition, to arrive at some figures for the number of women and children sharing the gunners' lives in the city.

Then follows a discussion of the problems raised by the rank structure and the social cleavage between the officers and the other ranks, two groups clearly different in terms of recruitment, career and pay. A number of examples of the many disparities in life-style between these two classes are provided.

Finally, the last chapter contains a description of the various activities of these artillery companies and of the respective duties of officers, non-commissioned officers and soldiers. A further distinction is made between those activities inherent in the very nature of the regiment and those more particularly related to its role as part of the Quebec garrison.

No attempt has been made to deal with such matters as quartering, dress, diet, crime, recreation or impact on the civilian population. To begin with it was felt that our source material, being mainly concerned with the Royal Regiment of the Artillery, was inadequate for such a purpose. It was felt as well that it might be more appropriate to discuss these matters within the broader framework of a study of the Quebec garrison as a whole, using source material more germane to the purpose and information obtained by examining the artifacts uncovered in the archaeological digs in Quebec City.

Source Material

This has been divided into four categories. An examination was made, at the outset, of the correspondence of artillery commanders, such papers being divided into two series. Of these the first consists of letters dispatched to the commander-in-chief of the troops in Canada,[1] whereas the other is made up of correspondence exchanged with the adjutant-general of the regiment in Woolwich.[2] These papers also contain appendices in the form of letters from other interested parties, administrative forms or excerpts from regulations. The subject matter of these dispatches varies from year to year but may be repeated over a certain period. For the period 1825-67, for instance, a number of these relate to applications for rations for widows and orphans. None, however, were discovered for preceding or subsequent years. These dispatches give an indication of the administrative concerns of the day. They also provide some insight into the personal problems of commanders, along with occasional unlooked-for items of information.

A second category of source material is made up of monthly strength returns.[3] They provide information on the actual strength of the units on certain fixed dates, indicating the exact number of officers and other ranks and the number of deaths, desertions, and releases recorded over the preceding month. Unfortunately the information is not complete for the entire period under review. There are no figures for the years 1765-75, nor for 1786-1808; nor are there any figures with regard to the number of officers stationed in Quebec City from 1776 to

1786 or from 1809 to 1831. The returns do not provide any indication of the strength of the regiment in Canada prior to 1775.

Orders and regulations as well as training manuals were consulted. No digest of 18th century regulations was found; those used date from 1816, 1828 and 1868.[4] The regulations of 1816 are in the form of a compendium of general orders applicable in 1811, to which were added those issued from 1811 to 1816. The digests were reprinted, improved and completed over the years. The 1868 edition is a much larger publication and better put together, in that it is divided into sections and numbered by article. Regulations more specifically applicable to the various regiments, for example, those of 1828, were added to those covering the army as a whole. These regulations are essentially concerned with the various duties of officers or non-commissioned officers, administrative forms, and a large number of details related to military life - discipline, schedules, and so on. Some points however remain obscure, no doubt because these were matters of established usage. As for training manuals,[5] these provide information on the degree of knowledge required of gunners in the discharge of their duties.

Finally, a considerable volume of information was taken from other printed material. The lists of officers of the Royal Regiment of Artillery published by W.H. Askwith[6] indicate dates of promotion for all officers as well as their postings. Using the compilation of M.E.S. Laws[7] of documents in the War Office 10 series, we were able to identify the companies of the regiment represented in Quebec City between 1759 and 1859.

Useful items of information were also drawn from various other sources as well as from monographs on the British army or the Royal Regiment of Artillery.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF ARTILLERY COMPANIES

Administratively, the various companies of the Royal Regiment of Artillery in Quebec City came under a number of military institutions directing their activities in as many respects. It might be well at this point to discuss British military institutions of the time, in order to gain a better understanding of the relationships they maintained with the regiment, both in Great Britain, where its headquarters was situated, and in the colonies. It should also be noted that artillery companies belonged to a single regiment with its own peculiar administrative practices.

British Military Institutions[1]

British military administration involved seven main areas. Table 1 indicates the titles of the various officials in charge of these areas between 1759 and 1871. For the greater part of that period, from 1759 to 1855, military administration was the province of five senior officials. After 1855 their numbers were reduced to three. All of them supervised various departments represented in the colonies. The administrative structures will therefore be studied in terms of the responsibilities of these five senior officials, following which the 1855 reforms will be briefly discussed.

The Secretary of State for War and the Colonies.[2]

From 1759 to 1871 military and colonial policy was entrusted to one or two secretaries of state whose title varied over the years. In 1759 the two secretaries of state of the British government, one for the northern district, the other for the southern district, were responsible, *inter alia*, for war policy generally. However, the American colonies came under the jurisdiction of the former. In 1768 came the appointment of a "Secretary of State for the American Colonies," who took over from his two colleagues responsibility for war and the colonies. In 1782, however, that appointment was abolished, the two others being restyled the "Foreign Secretary" and "Home Secretary." The latter took over the management of war and the colonies. In 1794 came the creation of the position of "Secretary of State for War," responsibility for the colonies devolving on the home secretary. In 1801 the departments of war and the colonies were joined and were thenceforth in the hands of "Secretary of State for War and the

Table 1. Breakdown of Administrative Responsibilities in the British Army from 1759 to 1871

Date	Colonial Policy	War Policy	Supply Distribution of Funds	Budgets Infantry and Cavalry	Command Infantry and Cavalry	Command Artillery and Engineers	Munitions and Fortifications
1759-68	Secretary of State (southern district)	Secretary of State (northern & southern districts)	Lord High Treasurer	Secretary at War	Commander-in-Chief	Master General of Ordnance	
1768-70	Secretary of State for the American Colonies						
1770				Secretary at War			
1778				Secretary at War	Commander-in-Chief		
1782-94	Home Secretary			Secretary at War			
1794-1801	Home Secretary	Secretary of State for War		Secretary at War	Commander-in-Chief		
1801-55	Secretary of State for War and the Colonies						
1855-71	Secretary of State for the Colonies	Secretary of State for War			Commander-in-Chief		Secretary of State for War

Colonies." In 1855, however, they were once again divided between two secretaries of state.

As the official responsible for war policy, the secretary of state was the instrument of government control over the army. Every year he put before Parliament an act providing for a maximum strength for the troops. In addition it was his responsibility to provide for the best possible distribution of armed forces among their various stations, at home and abroad. As the official charged with the implementation of colonial policy, it was up to him to ensure that the defensive requirements of the colonies were in fact met. As far as the Royal Regiment of Artillery was concerned, more specifically, he was in a position to influence its strength or the dispatching of companies to the colonies.

In Canada the secretary of state was represented by the governor. Between 1759 and 1764 there were three military governors in the colony, one in Quebec City, another in Three Rivers and a third in Montreal. A civil government was instituted in 1764, headed by a governor general residing in Quebec, with lieutenant-governors in Detroit, Gaspé and Quebec City and, after 1791, with lieutenant-governors for the two Canadas. In his absence, the governor general's duties were exercised by the lieutenant-governor of Lower Canada or by an administrator, at that time the President of the Legislative Council (*see* Appendix A). From 1768 to 1838 the governor general also acted as commander-in-chief. Subsequently these duties were divided between two men, though the commander-in-chief was called upon to replace the governor general in his absence.

The latter's business was the administration of the colony. His relations with the Royal Regiment of Artillery were those of a civilian authority with the military sector. He could, for example, ask the Regiment to supervise the militia artillery or fight fires in government buildings. He could also request an increase in strength for the Regiment in Canada, should he feel this necessary.

The Commander-in-Chief[3]

This officer was in command of all infantry and cavalry forces. He saw to the appointment of officers, promotions, matters of discipline, orders and regulations, dress and the quartering of troops. From 1770 to 1778 and from 1782 to 1793 the title "Commander-in-Chief" was reserved for the sovereign, the actual duties of the office devolving upon the secretary at war. The position of commander-in-chief was made permanent in 1793. He was then provided with a staff comprising a military secretary, an adjutant-general and a quartermaster-general, who had up to then reported to the secretary at war.

The military secretary was responsible for receiving and sending out dispatches on behalf of the commander-in-chief. The adjutant-general was concerned with military regulations, dress, choice of armament and monthly strength returns. In 1807 he was made responsible for recruiting and general inspection. The quartermaster-general looked after troop movements and quartering. From 1792 to 1822 the commander-in-chief was responsible for barracks and the barrack master general reported to him.[4]

In theory, all departments under the control of the commander-in-chief had no responsibility beyond the infantry or cavalary so that, at first sight at least, the Royal Regiment of Artillery seemed to have little to do with him. Nevertheless, in the field the commander-in-chief was responsible for co-ordinating the action of all the troops. Similarly, the adjutant-general's regulations applied to the Royal Regiment of Artillery, which also had its own specific standing orders.[5] This made for better discipline within a single garrison including troops of the various arms of the forces.

From 1758 to 1782 the commander-in-chief was represented by a commander-in-chief for America, residing in New York. This did not prevent the appointment of an officer commanding troops stationed in the province of Quebec. From 1763 to 1768 this officer had his residence in Montreal, following which he usually stayed in Quebec City until 1838, at which time his headquarters moved to Montreal. From 1782 on he reported directly to his superiors in Great Britain and was styled "Commander-in-Chief of the Troops in North America." Usually this appointment went to an infantry officer of general officer rank (*see* Appendix A). In 1859 however this officer, William Fenwick Williams,[6] was selected from the ranks of the Royal Regiment of Artillery and retained the appointment until 1865.

The commander-in-chief for Canada was in charge of the departments of the adjutant-general and the quartermaster-general for the colony, whose duties were similar to those of their superiors in the home country. He provided himself in addition with a military secretary, who looked after correspondence, as well as with a number of aides-de-camp chosen, more often than not, from among officers in his original regiment or family. Major Henry Sebastian Rowan, for example, was military secretary to his uncle, Lieutenant-General William Rowan, from 1851 to 1854.[7] Lieutenant-General Williams' A.D.C., 1859-60, was Captain Woolsey, an officer from his own regiment.[8] Finally, a number of district commanders, selected from among the major-generals, reported to the commander-in-chief.[9] His authority extended to all infantry and cavalry regiments through these district commanders.

The relations between the commander-in-chief and the artillery companies had a special character, artillery companies having their own commanding officer for Canada. This official was assisted by district commanders independent of those in control of the cavalry or infantry. He was stationed in the same town or city as the commander-in-chief (*see* Appendix B). In 1838, therefore, he took up residence in Montreal, leaving a district commander in Quebec City. Though he reported to the master general of ordnance, the officer commanding the artillery in Canada was in direct contact with the commander-in-chief, keeping the latter informed of directives received, promotions and appointments of Royal Artillery officers, and arrivals and departures of detachments. He obtained permission from him to allow officers to proceed on leave or take up new duties on promotion. Finally, he requested through him payment of monies owed by the other war departments under his jurisdiction. However, it was understood that the commander-in-chief would at no time concern himself with the internal affairs of the Royal Regiment of Artillery. His business was to co-ordinate troop movements, evaluate requirements and, if necessary, request an increase in strength from the master general of Ordnance.

The Secretary at War[10]

This was a civilian minister in charge of infantry and cavalry. Whereas the commander-in-chief was concerned with matters of tactical employment, discipline and regulations, it was the secretary at war who prepared the budget and set rates of pay. The medical department reported to him on all matters except those that came under the adjutant-general. This department included a pharmacist-general, a supplier-general of medical supplies, and a medical committee made up of the physician-general, the surgeon-general and the Inspector-General of Hospitals. It had jurisdiction over all regimental surgeons including those of the Royal Regiment of Artillery. In 1794 the secretary at war set up a network of supply depots under a storekeeper-general for the maintenance of such things as light weapons and medical supplies. In 1822 these depots were transferred to the Department of Ordnance.

The secretary at war's representative in Canada was the commander-in-chief. He administered the medical department, which supervised garrison hospitals and co-ordinated the distribution of surgeons among the various regiments. This was the way in which the administrative functions of the secretary at war affected the Royal Regiment of Artillery.

The Lord High Treasurer[11]

Although budgeting was the responsibility of the secretary at war, the purse strings were held by the Lord High Treasurer, whose ministerial duties included the control of all monies expended by the government. As far as the army was concerned, however, his responsibilities were limited to expenses incurred by the infantry or the cavalry, and funds were distributed through either the paymaster-general or the commissary-general.

Originally the paymaster-general[12] was responsible for providing the agents of the various infantry or cavalry regiments with the monies required to pay the troops. However, after 1836 his responsibilities were extended to the marines, the engineers and the gunners. Monies passing through the hands of regimental agents were transferred to regimental paymasters who, in turn, paid the troops directly. The commissary-general, on the other hand, was responsible for procuring food, heating and lighting supplies for all the troops, and for storing these supplies in the depots. He managed the funds used for all purchases made on behalf of the various departments under the commander-in-chief or the secretary at war. The Lord High Treasurer was assisted by a comptroller-general,[13] who supervised the auditing of accounts.

The Lord High Treasurer's representative in Canada was the commissary-general of the army, who was responsible for supervising all the military commissaries in charge of supplies at all the garrisons. He also supervised the work of the assistant comptroller and the assistant paymaster-general of the colony. However, he took orders from the commander-in-chief in respect of extraordinary expenses incurred in wartime.

All companies of the Royal Regiment of Artillery were therefore supplied with rations, lighting and heating requirements, and forage for their horses by the commissariat. After 1836 they were paid by the assistant paymaster-general. In time of war, the commissary paid the regiment the sums authorized by the commander-in-chief to cover extraordinary expenses, such as the purchase of horses for the field artillery.

The Master General of Ordnance.[14]

This official was simultaneously responsible for both military and civilian matters. On the military side, he exercised similar powers over the artillery and engineer regiments as those exercised by the commander-in-chief over the infantry and cavalry. He was assisted by a lieutenant-general of ordnance, who acted for him in his absence, until this position was abolished in 1831. The "Master General of Ordnance" commanded the artillerymen through the vice adjutant-general of the Royal Regiment of Artillery[15] and the engineers through the engineer-in-chief (whose title was changed in 1802 to Inspector-General of Fortifications).

On the civilian side, he was the minister who answered for the Department of Ordnance, which was responsible for the supplying and storage of the army's munitions, the manufacture and testing of guns, the administration of military property and barracks,[16] the construction and maintenance of fortifications, and the provision of clothing and pay[17] for artillerymen and engineers. The master general of ordnance was assisted by a Board of Ordnance[18] of which he was a member, which included as well the lieutenant-general, the surveyor-general (who checked the quality of the goods supplied), a clerk of ordnance (who looked after the books and prepared estimates), a principal storekeeper (responsible for stocktaking) and a clerk of deliveries.[19]

In Canada, as far as military matters were concerned the Master General of Ordnance was represented by the officers commanding the Royal Artillery and the Royal Engineers. In the civilian sector his duties were delegated to a storekeeper, in charge of supply depots, a clerk of survey, whose duty it was to inspect supplies, and a clerk of the cheque, or treasurer. Until 1811 both sectors appear to have been administered independently.[20] Subsequently the two military commanders and the three civilian officials formed a body known as the "Respective Officers of Ordnance," residing in Quebec. After 1824 it comprised only three members, the storekeeper and the two military commanders.

Obviously the relationship between the companies of the Royal Regiment of Artillery and the civilian sector of the ordnance were extremely close: the storekeeper issued them with clothing, equipment and weapons, though his responsibility did not extend beyond the confines of the depots. The Royal Regiment of Artillery therefore assumed responsibility for the clothing it received and the cannon mounted on the fortifications.

The 1855 Reorganization[21]

After the Crimean War, the military administration was reformed by regrouping the various functions and placing them in the hands of three authorities. The department of the "Secretary for War and the Cononies" was divided into two. The "Secretary of State for the Colonies" took over the Colonial Office, which supervised the civil governments of the colonies. Its dealings with the army were limited to requesting strength increases. As for the "Secretary of State for War," it assumed responsibility for all civil sectors of military administration, as well as for the War Office, the secretary at war reporting directly to it. The War Office itself brought together the staff of the commissary general, the paymaster-general, the comptroller-general and the civilian functions of the Department of Ordnance. The commander-in-chief took command of all land troops, including those of the Royal Artillery and the Royal Engineers. Henceforth the vice adjutant-general of the former was to report to the adjutant-general. This meant that the position of "Master General of Ordnance" was eliminated.

The Secretary of State for the Colonies was represented in Canada by the governor general, while the commander-in-chief for Canada was the representative both of the commander-in-chief of the British army and of the Secretary of State for War, and thus in charge of all military administration offices. He was as well in command of all regiments through their commanding colonels or district commanders. The Royal

Regiment of Artillery companies in Quebec City were under the command of a lieutenant-colonel of the regiment in charge of the district, who in turn reported to the district commander in all matters save those involving the internal administration of the regiment, which was the concern of the regimental commanding officer, a colonel residing in Montreal.

Organization and Development of the Regiment

The companies of the Royal Regiment of Artillery stationed in Quebec City worked under rather peculiar conditions of regimental administration, adjusting to increases in artillery strength by creating new battalions. In 1859, however, the regiment was divided into a number of brigades. As for the arrival of companies in Quebec City, this was part of the larger process of periodic troop movement throughout the Empire.

Origins

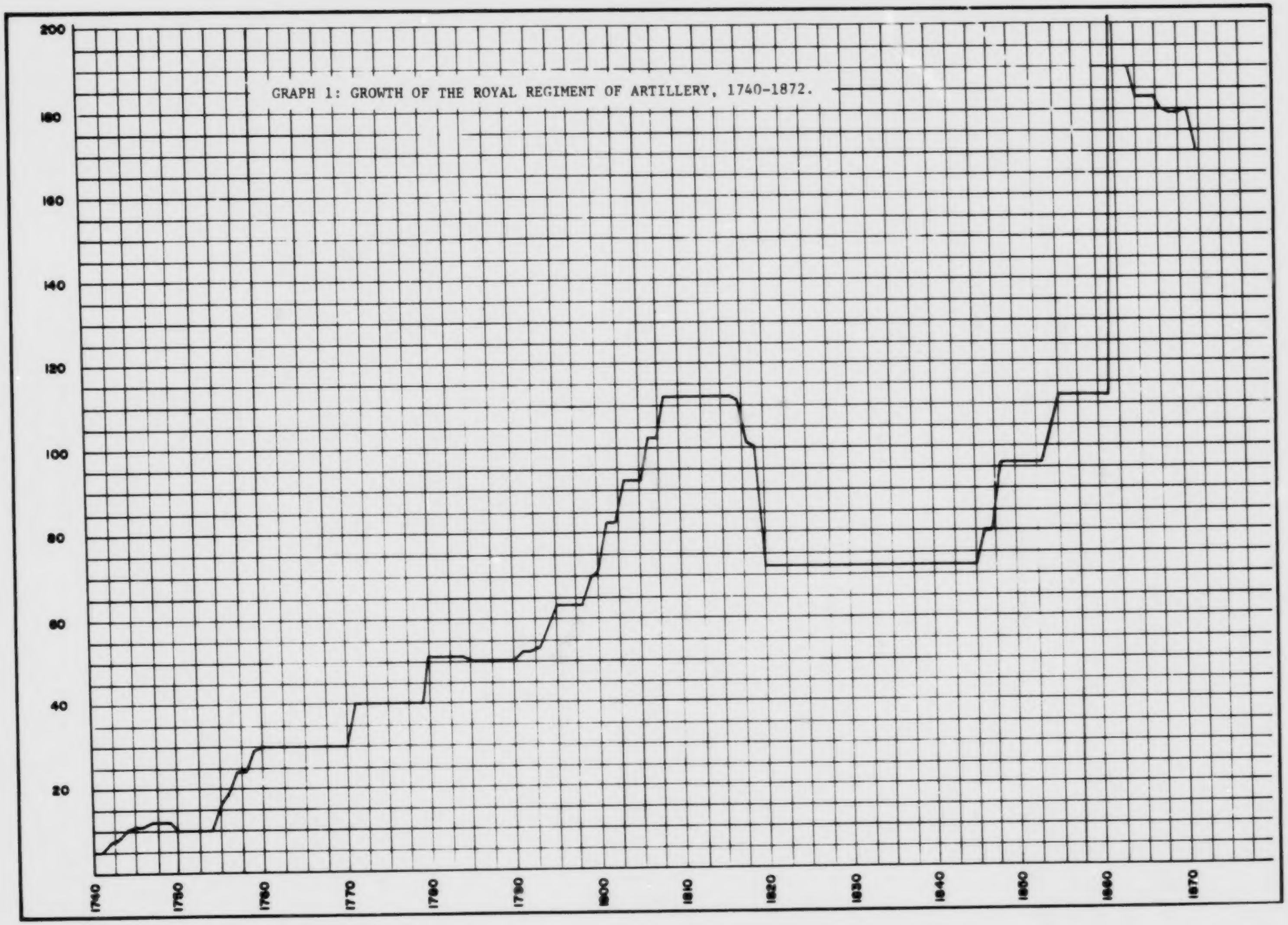
In the early days artillery troops were raised or released according to requirements. The first standing companies of artillery were set up in 1716. In 1722 two new companies were added, thus creating the original Royal Regiment of Artillery, commanded by a colonel.[22] The "Royal" title bestowed upon the Regiment gave it the right to wear royal colours, that is blue. In 1741 the Woolwich Military Academy was founded to train cadets for the Artillery and the Engineers.

Development.

The outbreak of the War of the Austrian Succession in 1740 was to mark the beginning of a long period of growth for the regiment, as indicated by Graph 1.

Constant strength increases occurred during the various wars of the period, that of the Austrian Succession (1740-48), the Seven Years' War (1756-63), the American War of Independence (1775-83) and the extended series of wars with France (1793-1815). Strength decreases, on the other hand, occurred in the immediate postwar period between 1816 and 1820. Thereafter there were no significant variations until 1846. Between that year and 1848 a further increase was approved, 24 new companies being recruited for service in Great Britain and Ireland against the possibility of a revolution. In 1854-55 another increase was required because of the Crimean War, and the Royal Artillery reached its maximum strength in 1862 with the incorporation into the Regiment of the Indian artillery troops, which had up to then been independent. Subsequently the withdrawal of garrisons from Canada and India made it possible for Great Britain to reduce the number of artillery batteries.

Alongside the Royal Regiment of Artillery there existed two special



GRAPH 1: GROWTH OF THE ROYAL REGIMENT OF ARTILLERY, 1740-1872.

units with similar responsibilities: the Royal Horse Artillery and the Royal Artillery Drivers. The two original units of the former regiment were formed in 1793. This was an elite corps capable of rapid movement under fire, all gunners being mounted and moving with their guns. The number of these units was subsequently increased, but none saw service in Canada. The Royal Artillery Drivers was created in 1794. This was a military corps charged with the special responsibility of transporting ordnance, a task which had to then been contracted out to civilians. It was hoped that by using the military for this purpose there would be less likelihood of the drivers fleeing under enemy fire. This corps was disbanded in 1822 and part of its personnel was incorporated into the Royal Regiment of Artillery. Henceforth the transporting of guns was to be the responsibility of the gunners themselves, and they were given the title of gunners and drivers. In addition, in times of major conflict, calls for volunteers went out in the colonies and new artillery companies were formed for short periods, as in 1775, 1812, 1837-38 (during the Rebellion) and following the Trent incident of 1862.

The Battalion System: 1757-1859

Originally the regiment was divided into companies of varying strength - from 50 to 100 men in peacetime and up to 150 in wartime. Each company was commanded by a captain, the entire regiment being commanded by a colonel.[24] In August 1757, it being felt that there were too many companies; it was decided to group them in two battalions. Subsequently new battalions were created to match the growth of the regiment. The battalions were originally composed of ten companies, but in 1819 this number was reduced to eight.

Each battalion was under a colonel's command, with its headquarters and recruiting staff in Woolwich. The most senior of the battalion colonels in point of service was styled "Colonel Commandant of the Royal Artillery," though it does not appear that this title gave him actual control over all artillery troops within the British Empire. Prior to 1795, officers commanding units of the regiment in the colonies reported directly to the master general of ordnance;[25] after 1795 they received orders from the vice adjutant-general of the Royal Artillery.[26] In addition each battalion had a certain number of lieutenant-colonels and majors in command of artillery for a colony or for a district. Their jurisdiction was not limited to the companies of their own battalion, however. The list of companies stationed in Quebec City (Appendix C) indicates that from 1773 to 1783 and from 1813 to 1859 the officer commanding the Royal Regiment of Artillery in Quebec City had companies of different battalions under his command at the same time. Thus it is clear that the structure of the Royal Artillery was at considerable variance with that of infantry or cavalry regiments. These last two were made up of battalions which were administratively independent and moved in a body from one colony to another, taking their headquarters with them.

The regiment's growth caused an increase in the staff in Woolwich, where all 14 battalion headquarters were to be found in 1855. This situation gave rise to the reform of 1859.

The Brigade System of 1859

A General Order from the commander-in-chief in April 1859 announced substantial reforms in the administration of the Royal Regiment of Artillery.[27] Henceforth battalions were to be styled "brigades" and "companies," "batteries." The Royal Horse Artillery became the Royal Horse Brigade. Unlike the battalion, the brigade was localized in a territorial area, either in a district in the home country or in a colony, with headquarters in one of the stations of the territory involved. Only the regimental headquarters remained in Woolwich, along with the cadets, one or two brigades and the Depot Brigade, in charge of recruiting for all other brigades. As a consequence, as of 1 July 1859, the two companies stationed in Quebec City, the two in Halifax and the three in the Caribbean became batteries of the 7th Brigade with headquarters in Montreal.

On the average each brigade had eight batteries. These were of two kinds: garrison artillery, designated by numbers, and field artillery, designated by letters.[28] Both had an equal number of officers and gunners, but field artillery batteries were provided in addition with drivers and craftsmen[29] who transported the guns and cared for the horses.

The duties of the batteries of the same brigade were similar, though it was possible to convert a field artillery brigade into a garrison brigade and vice versa, if necessary. Quebec City was provided with nothing but garrison artillery. However, field artillery batteries began to arrive in Canada in 1861 for the protection of the border in the event of war with the United States.

The new system, which provided artillery brigades with an organization paralleling that of infantry regiments, did not however preclude the co-existence of artillery batteries belonging to more than one artillery brigade within a single district under the same commanding officer. Between September 1862 and October 1863, for example, there were in Quebec City two batteries belonging to the 10th Brigade and another belonging to the 7th Brigade (Appendix C) under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Benn, who reported to the officer commanding the Royal Regiment of Artillery in Canada, Colonel F.E. Eardly Wilmot (Appendix B), who was also the commander of the 7th Brigade.[30] In September 1862 this officer was replaced by the commander of the 10th Brigade, Colonel Franklin Dunlop.[31] In his capacity of officer commanding the Royal Regiment of Artillery in Canada, Dunlop had jurisdiction over the five batteries of the 4th Brigade, the seven batteries of the 10th Brigade, and those of the 7th stationed in Canada. Nonetheless, this new system did not prevent the posting of batteries far from their headquarters. In 1859, for example, the three 7th Brigade batteries stationed in the Caribbean, because of the slowness of communication with their own headquarters in Montreal, reported directly to Woolwich. Consequently, despite the brigade system, the Royal Artillery continued to move by units of batteries. Even though brigade headquarters had been decentralized, Woolwich continued to control recruiting and administration for batteries that were isolated from their own brigade headquarters.

Troop Movements

The movement of troops involved the relocation of companies or batteries from one station to another after a stay of a few years. This was designed to prevent the development of overly close ties with the local population and to allow for a renewal of the strength of the unit by periodic repostings to headquarters. These movements took place at two levels: within the Empire, troops would be sent from one area[32] to another, and within these territories gunners could be posted from one location to another. Two main considerations dictated such movements: the choice of which units to displace and the length of the stay in a particular area or garrison.

Originally, artillery troops were sent to the various parts of the British Empire by companies. As the regiment grew in numbers, however, it was believed possible to move whole battalions together. In 1764 the Royal Regiment of Artillery had three battalions composed of companies stationed in a single area:[33] in the home country, America[34] and the other colonies.[35] Between 1765 and 1769 the companies of the 1st Battalion in Great Britain exchanged places with those of the 2nd Battalion, then stationed in America.[36] In 1773 the 4th Battalion, formed two years earlier, replaced the first.[37] Subsequently the whole system was thrown into confusion by the American War of Independence. Regrouping by companies was renewed in 1784, the 4th Battalion being stationed in America, the 1st in other colonies, and the others in Great Britain.[38] After 1790 the wars with the French upset this process, and companies proceeded to their various postings independently of their parent battalion. With the institution of the brigade system in 1859, an attempt was made to regroup all batteries belonging to a single brigade within a common area. In theory brigades were supposed henceforth to be relieved as a unit and to spend at least one year in Woolwich following service abroad.[39] In practice however, as we have seen, batteries belonging to different brigades were very soon found serving in the same colony. The fact of the matter was that troop movements were dictated by colonial requirements or the exigencies of war, and these needs were much better reckoned in terms of companies or batteries than in terms of battalions or brigades.

Theoretically it was up to the military authorities to prescribe the length of stay of a company in a particular area, but this was true only in time of peace. The list of companies or batteries garrisoned in Quebec City (Appendix C) indicates that some companies remained in America from six to ten years between 1757 and 1773, and in Canada for four years between 1786 and 1790, for six to eight years in the case of those arriving between 1820 and 1825, and for five or six years in the case of companies or batteries arriving after 1842. Moreover, in wartime the length of service of the companies already stationed in Canada at the outbreak of hostilities was extended. Those companies sent out in 1773 were to remain in America no less than 13 years because of the American War of Independence. In the same way a substantial number of the companies dispatched to Canada after 1790 remained owing to the wars with France and took part in the operations against the Americans during the War of 1812. Indeed four companies remained in Canada for more than a quarter of a century. Similarly, the companies stationed in this country in 1837 were forced to extend their stay from nine to thirteen years by reason of the rebellion. Conversely, the length of service in a colony could be reduced in the event that troops were required elsewhere. For example, in 1854 some of the companies stationed in Canada returned to Woolwich before the end of their appointed stay, replacing those designated for service in the Crimea. On the average, during the greater part of the period under consideration, the stay of companies or batteries in Canada was no more than six years.

Within an area or a colony, artillery troops were moved by companies or small detachments. Prior to 1782 the whole of North America constituted a single area with headquarters in New York. A company could therefore serve in turn in Louisbourg, Quebec City, Crown Point, Boston and New York. In addition there were the troop movements required by the military campaigns of the Seven Years' War and the American War of Independence. After 1782 Canada constituted a territory for which companies were specially designated. These were stationed in turn in a number of locations: Quebec, Montreal, and, as Upper Canada acquired increasing importance, Kingston, Toronto and London. In addition small artillery detachments were sent in certain years to Fort Lennox, Chambly, Saint-Jean and to isolated posts in Upper Canada. It was possible in this way to alternate garrison service in towns with service in isolated stations. Nevertheless, some of the companies or batteries serving in Canada were never stationed in Quebec City; others, on the other hand, had more than one stay there. Fifty-eight companies or batteries were stationed in Quebec City at least once,[40] and 12 of them more than once.

The length of stay of the companies may be calculated in two ways: first, the time spent in Quebec City during a period of service in Canada, and second, the length of each stay in Quebec City.

Table 2 shows the changes over four periods in the duration of service of artillery troops in Quebec City. It should be noted that the 1790-1818 period was quite exceptional. These years aside, it can be said that the length of the stay grew increasingly shorter with the passage of time and reached its lowest level with the introduction of the brigade system. For most of the years under study it turns out that, on the average, companies spent half of the total length of their stay in Canada in Quebec City.

Table 2. Length of Stay in Quebec City of the Companies and Batteries of the Royal Regiment of Artillery[41]

Period	Number of Companies	Number of Stays	Time in Quebec City	Length of Stays
1759-90	13	13	3 yrs 4 mos	3 yrs 4 mos
1790-1818	4	16	19 yrs 7 mos	4 yrs 9 mos
1818-62	26	34	3 yrs 4 mos	2 yrs 7 mos
1862-71	15	15	1 yr 8 mos	1 yr 8 mos
Total	58	78	4 yrs	3 yrs
Total excluding 1790-1818	54	62	2 yrs 10 mos	2 yrs 6 mos

In this chapter we have seen how the Royal Regiment of Artillery fitted into the complex organizational structure of the British army. The regimental organization itself has been discussed, as well as the process involved in posting artillerymen to Quebec City. The following chapter will be devoted to an examination of the strength and establishment of these companies.

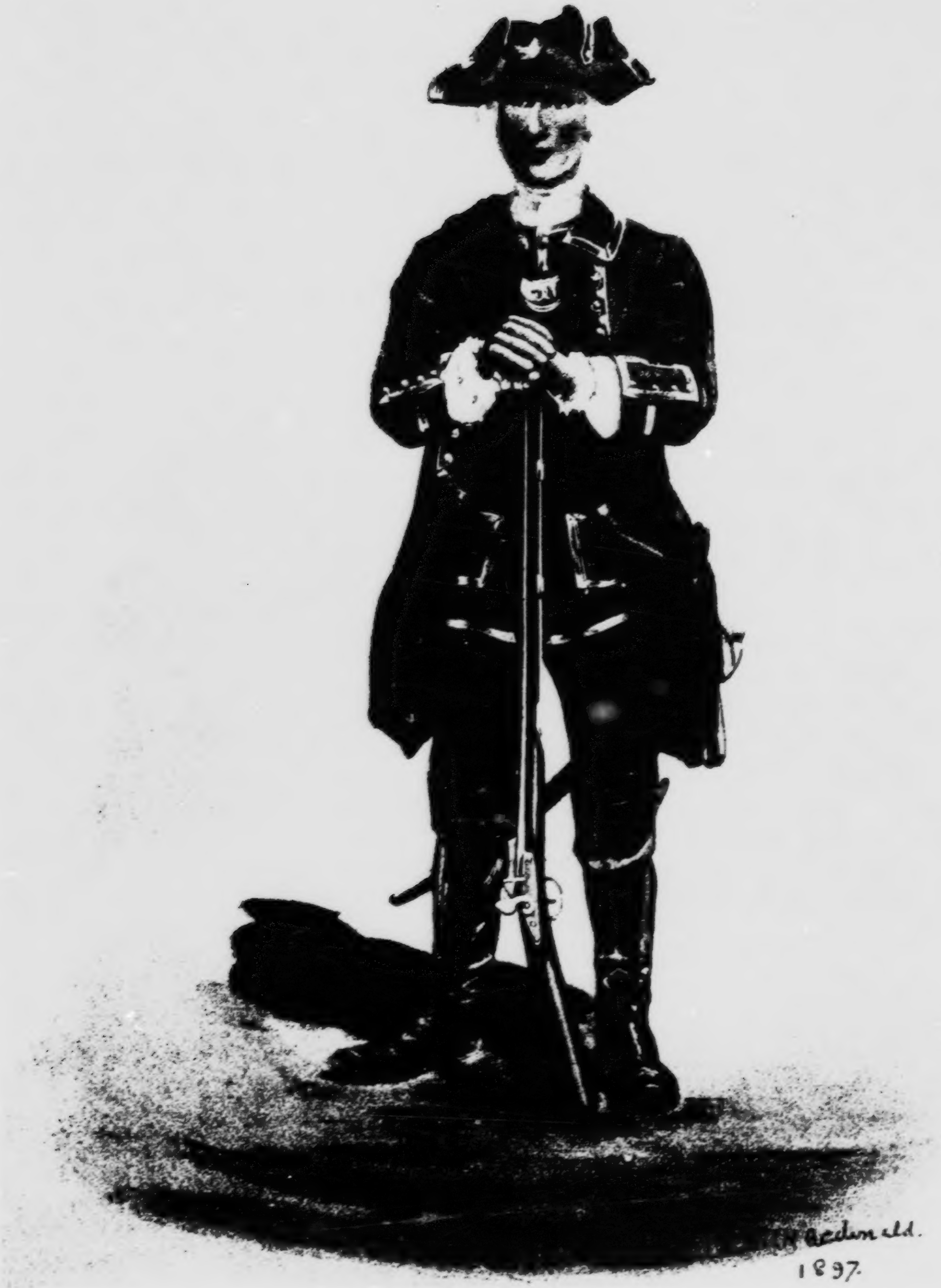


Figure 1. An officer of the Royal Regiment of Artillery in 1760.

STRENGTH

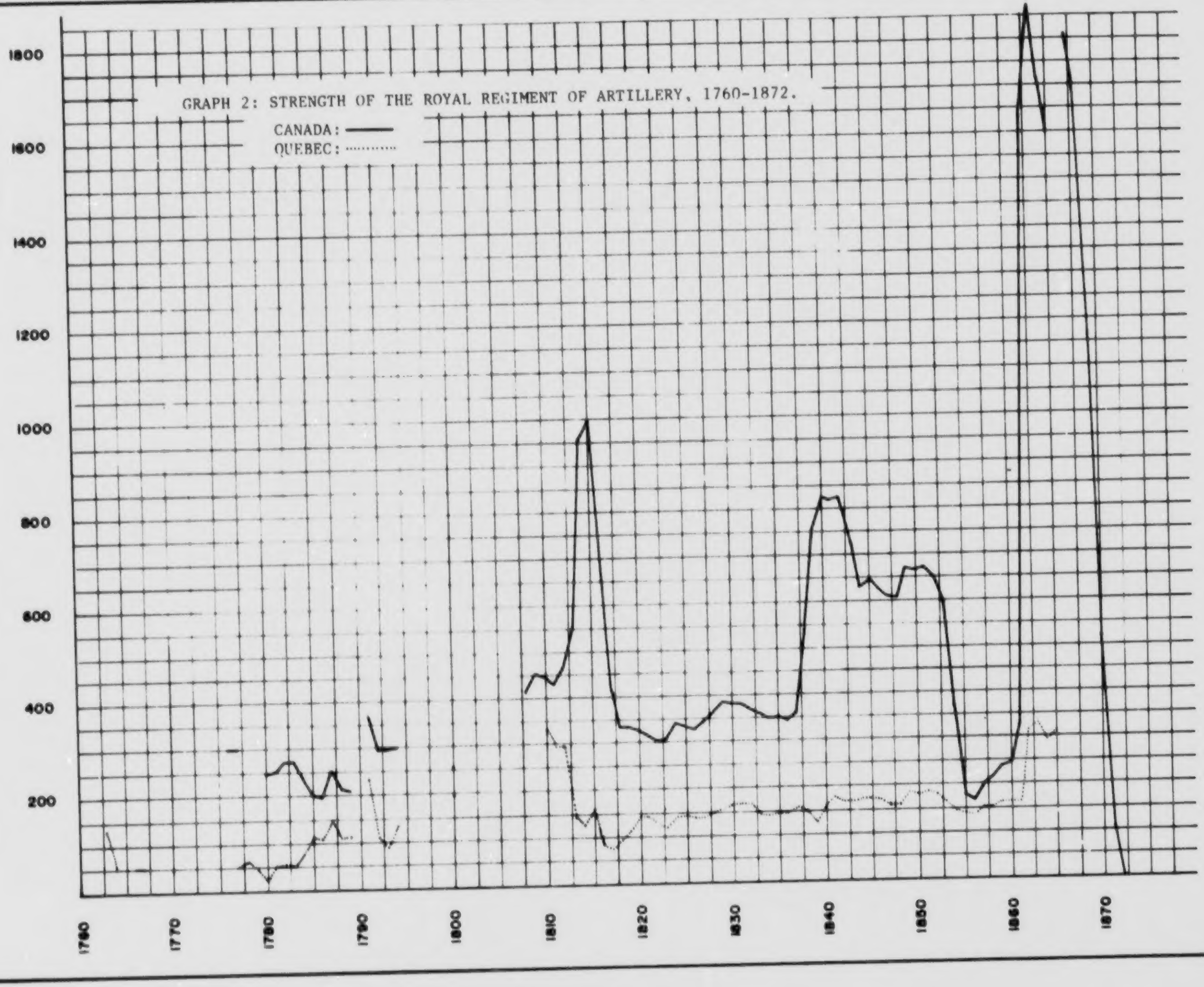
Strength returns for the Royal Regiment of Artillery in Quebec were produced on a regular basis, on a recurring date in every month.[1] These returns reported on the number of deaths, desertions, releases and new recruits for the preceding month and the consequent increase or decrease in total strength. In the longer run, strength variations conformed to defence requirements which depended on the political climate or circumstances of the time: war or peace, threats of rebellion and budget cuts. In addition the monthly strength returns specified the number of officers, non-commissioned officers and other ranks. These returns did not, however, indicate the number of dependent women and children accompanying the gunners, but this information may be estimated by consulting other sources.

Circumstantial Variations

From monthly returns of effective strength it is possible to establish yearly averages for the actual strength of the Regiment in Canada and Quebec City for 75 per cent of the years under consideration. The resulting curves, plotted on Graph 2, show varying fluctuations for most of the period under review. The reasons for these differences are examined below. In order to simplify our analysis, the years in question have been grouped into four periods, corresponding to periods in the constitutional development of Canada from 1759 to 1871. Gaps in the data available on troop strength during some years have been filled by indicating the number of companies present in Quebec City and in Canada.[3]

1759-74[4]

The Royal Regiment of Artillery's first contact with Quebec City occurred during the siege of the city prior to its capture. In the summer of 1759, three of the six artillery companies then present in North America were attached to Wolfe's expedition to Quebec and bombarded the city from the Island of Orleans and Pointe de Lévis. They must have included some two or three hundred gunners.[5] A 50-man detachment under Lieutenant John Yorke took part in the landing at Wolfe's Cove and in the battle of the Plains of Abraham.[6] It was in fact this detachment which was the first to enter the city's gates on the evening of September 18, 1759.[7] Subsequently only two artillery



GRAPH 2: STRENGTH OF THE ROYAL REGIMENT OF ARTILLERY, 1760-1872.

Table 3. Strength of the Royal Regiment of Artillery and Number of Companies in North America and in Quebec City, 1759-74

Year	Strength America	Strength Quebec City	Number of Companies America	Number of Companies Quebec City
1759*			6	3
1760			8	2
1761			8	2
1762			6	2
1763	559	135**	7	2
1764	513	55	7	1
1765			10	1
1766	517	52	10	1
1767	544	50	11	1
1768			10	1
1769			10	1
1770	475	45	10	1
1771			8	1
1772			8	1
1773			8	1
1774			8	1

* As of September.

** Approximately 170 from January to August and 56 from September to December.

companies remained in Quebec City and three others were employed in operations leading to the conquest of Canada in 1760. One of the two was moved from Quebec in August 1763. In addition, at the end of the Seven Years' War company strength was reduced to 54,[8] so that from 1763 to 1774 there were no more than approximately 50 gunners in the city.

For North America as a whole this reduction in company strength was offset by an increase in the total number of companies. At the end of 1770 two companies were disbanded, their men being reposted to the eight remaining.[9] These were stationed as follows: one in Newfoundland and one in Halifax for the entire period; one in Montreal from 1760 to 1765 and from 1768 to 1775; from two to four in New York; one or two in Florida after 1765; another in Philadelphia from 1767 on; and the others scattered in various locations throughout the American colonies for short periods.[10]

Except during the Seven Years' War, the strength of the troops remained stable. Quebec City was considered one of the main links in the chain of defence of North America having its centre in New York. There being no enemy north of the Mississippi, Quebec did not need large numbers of artillerymen. Apart from the period of the War of Independence, this was the period that saw the fewest number of gunners in Quebec City and during which they shared their barracks with the infantry.[11]

1775-90

At the beginning of 1775 there remained one artillery company in Quebec City, but it departed in May for Saint-Jean, leaving only a small detachment behind. Another was stationed in Montreal. In June of that year the combined strength of the two companies stationed in the Province of Quebec was 85 men.[12] In November the Royal Regiment of Artillery detachment in Quebec City consisted of one officer and five soldiers.[13] To assist them a company of militia artillery was raised.[14] It was this company, under the direction of a handful of regulars, that fired against Arnold's expedition in the winter of 1775-76. In the summer of 1776 reinforcements arrived in North America, raising the total strength of the regiment to 14 companies.[15] Of these, six came under the officer commanding the troops in the Province of Quebec. Two, however, were made American prisoners and the four

Table 4. Effective Strength of the Royal Regiment of Artillery with the Number of Companies Stationed in the Province of Quebec, 1775-90

	Strength		Number of Companies	
Year	Prov. of Quebec	Quebec City	Prov. of Quebec	Quebec City
1775			2	1
1776	300*		0**	0
1777	300***	52+	4++	0
1778		67	1	1
1779		45	1	0
1780	247+++	24	1	0
1781	251	55	1	0
1782	275	58	1+++	0
1783	276	53	3	0
1784	234	80	4	1
1785	200	115	4	3
1786	195	110	4	3
1787	252	145	4	4
1788	215	113	4	4
1789	208	116	4	4
1790			4	4

*	August to December.
**	Four companies arrived in midsummer.
***	January to June.
+	September to December.
++	Three companies left in midsummer.
+++	In July 1782 two company headquarters moved from New York to Sorel; these had probably been counted among those stationed in the Province of Quebec since 1780.

others assembled at Chambly and Montreal. During the summer of 1777 an expedition was prepared under General Burgoyne, the intention being to march south via the Richelieu route to attack the Americans. In July the strength of the Royal Regiment of Artillery in Quebec City stood at one lieutenant, four non-commissioned officers and 64 soldiers,[16] of whom 30 had less than one year's service. The artillery commander suggested sending the more experienced men with Burgoyne's force, leaving Quebec with two non-commissioned officers and 24 men. In the end Burgoyne took three artillery companies, leaving one to serve the province. In Quebec City artillery strength reached approximately 40 men in September 1777, rose to about 80 between December 1777 and September 1778, and varied from 40 to 60 until July 1784, with a sharp drop to under 10 men between July and October 1780.

At the end of the war British troops were withdrawn from the territory of the United States. Three artillery companies returned to the Province of Quebec. In October 1783 there was one company of the Royal Artillery in Quebec City, the others being assigned to Sorel, where the headquarters was situated. In July 1784, the headquarters of the troops in the province was transferred to Quebec City along with those of two artillery companies. Subsequently the headquarters of all four companies were set up in that city. Approximately 100 gunners remained there at all times, and detachments were posted to the other locations.[17]

It is clear, therefore, that war conditions notwithstanding, there was no increase in strength for the artillery in Quebec City, in spite of the arrival of reinforcements in the province. It was felt preferable to send more experienced troops into battle. On the other hand, with the loss of the American colonies, Quebec City and Halifax were to become two of the key British posts in North America. This led to a doubling of the number of artillerymen stationed in Quebec City after this period; over half of the entire number of those serving in the province were kept in the city.

1791-1836

In the fall of 1790 the four companies of the Royal Regiment of Artillery then in Canada were relieved by four others, which were the only artillery troops in Canada until June 1813. After September 1791 the average strength of these companies was 75. At the end of 1793 the authorized artillery strength was set at approximately 100, though the effective strength was under that figure.[18] Later, probably because of the state of war existing with France, the establishment was raised to about 110 in 1801 and 120 in 1807.[19] Following these increases, an attempt was made to swell the ranks by dispatching drafts of new recruits. For instance, there is a record of the landing in Canada of 43 men of the Royal Regiment of Artillery in 1802, 53 more in 1805 and 51 in the following year,[20] which explains the jump in the figures from 1800 to 1808. Strained relations between the United States and Great Britain because of the naval blockade against France and the attendant risk of war between the two countries led Great Britain to increase its military strength in North America.[21]

Between 1791 and 1812 the four companies of the regiment stationed

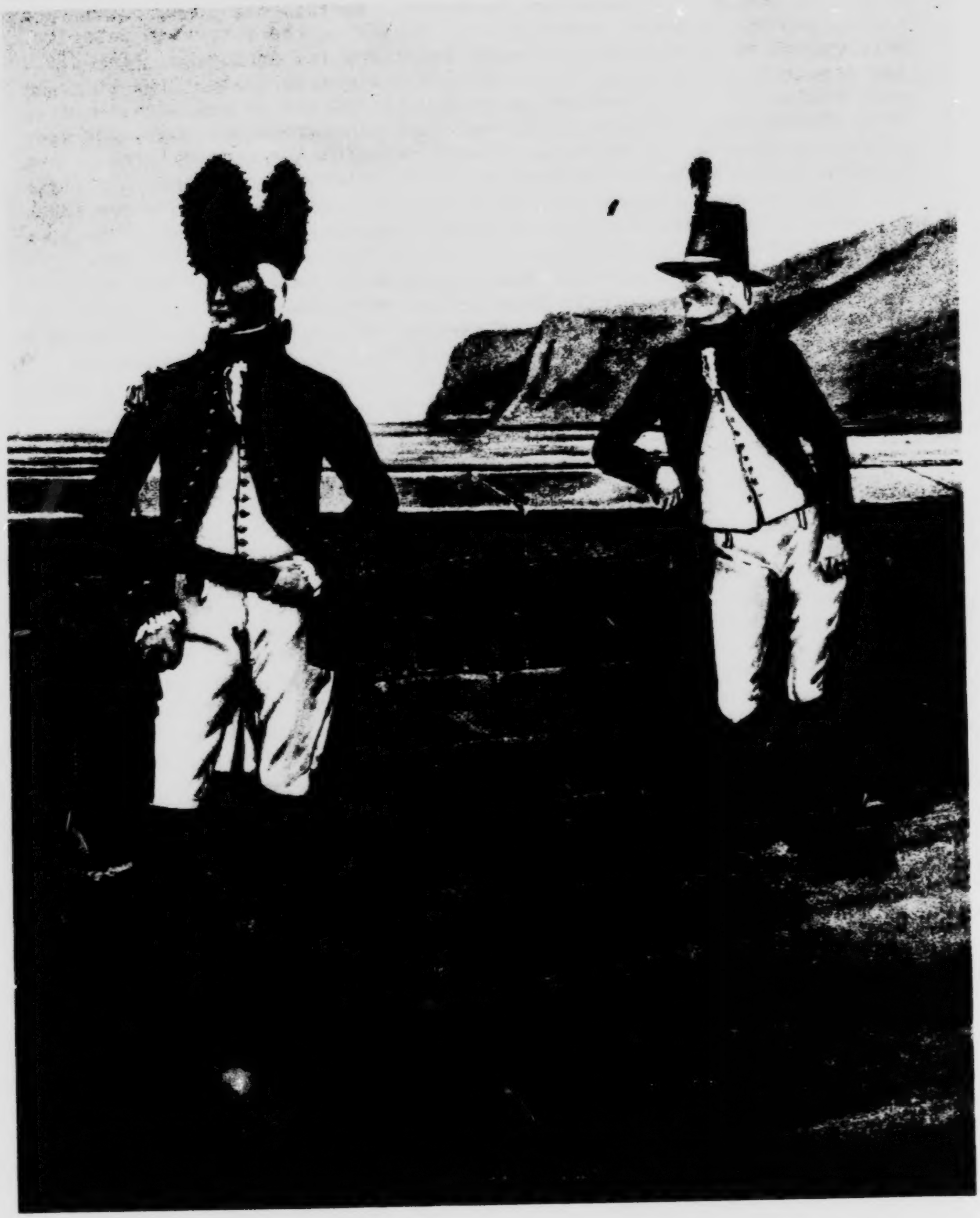


Figure 2. An officer (left) and a gunner (right) of the Regiment of Royal Artillery in 1794.

in Canada generally had their headquarters in Quebec City. In some years, however, companies or detachments were dispatched to various other posts in the country.[22] An exact calculation of the number of artillerymen in Quebec City between 1795 and 1809 is consequently not easy to make. It would appear from the figures available that the strength of the troops varied from about 40 men in August 1793 - approximately 15 per cent of the total number present in Canada at the time - to a maximum of some 400 men in January 1810, or 75 per cent of the total strength of the arm in Canada. These fluctuations may however be explained by tactical decisions. In 1791 Simcoe, lieutenant-governor of Upper Canada, urged the retention of a sizable share of the regular troops in that province.[23] In 1796 Governor Prescott felt that regulars should be concentrated in Montreal.[24] Then in 1807 the Secretary of State for War and the Colonies, Castlereagh, instructed Governor Craig to give priority to the defence of Quebec City, whereupon Craig decided to increase the size of the garrison there at the expense of the other stations.[25] In consequence, in the years following 1807 a substantial increase in the number of gunners had to be effected.

On 19 June 1812, the United States declared war on Britain. In 1813 and 1814 seven artillery companies were sent as reinforcements, bringing the total effective strength to 1292 in August, 1814. In addition various auxiliary troops came to assist the Royal Regiment of Artillery, first a detachment of the Royal Artillery Drivers whose duty it was to transport guns in battle.[26] The following year the vice adjutant-general of the regiment announced the dispatch of officers and non-commissioned officers of the Royal Artillery Drivers to staff a corps of some 300 locally recruited drivers, styled the Provincial Artillery Drivers.[27] These troops served until March 1815.[28] In the fall of 1813 the Admiralty dispatched two companies of Royal Marine Artillery, which were to remain in Canada until 1816.[29] Finally, militia artillery troops were impressed into service for guard duties in the towns, since the officer commanding the Royal Regiment of Artillery in Canada felt that they would be of limited usefulness on the battle-field.[30]

In Quebec City, however, in spite of the arrival of these reinforcements in Canada, the numbers of the Royal Artillery decreased. In January 1812 there were 350 gunners in the Quebec garrison, but there were plans to transfer one company to Montreal. The commanding officer, Glasgow, reported that in his opinion two additional companies were required in the city to man the 161 guns mounted on the fortifications.[31] The number of artillerymen dropped to about 220 in September 1812, to 157 in March 1813 and to 90 in October 1813. In Glasgow's view, moreover, a large proportion of these men were "unfit for active service."[32] While the war lasted a minimum of 100 regular artillerymen plus militia gunners were kept in Quebec City.

At the end of hostilities artillery strength in Canada was reduced. First the number of artillery companies was cut to seven and then, in February 1817, to five;[33] simultaneously, the establishment of companies was reduced to 63 soldiers, two drummers and nine non-commissioned officers.[34] In 1820 the authorized number of soldiers per company was set at 54, the next year at 50.[35] Between June 1817 and January 1838 the strength of the Royal Artillery Regiment in Canada

Table 5. Strength of the Royal Regiment of Artillery and Number of Companies in Canada and in Quebec City, 1791-1836

Year	Strength		Number of Companies	
	Canada	Quebec City	Canada	Quebec City
1791*	369	235	4	4
1792	294	111	4	2
1793	294	92	4	2
1794	298**	134**	4	3
1795			4	3
1796			4	3
1797			4	3
1798			4	4
1799			4	4
1800	254**	195**	4	3
1801			4	3
1802			4	3
1803			4	3
1804			4	3
1805			4	4
1806			4	4
1807			4	3
1808	414***		4	3
1809	452***		4	4
1810	444	333	4	4
1811	429	294	4	3
1812	465	294	4	3+
1813++	549	142	4	2
1814+++	957	127	5	1
1815#	996	159	11	2
1816	655##	84	7	1
1817	418###	77	7###	0
1818	337	94	5	1
1819	336	114	5	2
1820	327	141	5	2
1821	313	141	5	2
1822	303	126	5	2
1823	307	119	5	2
1824	340	138	5	2
1825	332	141	5	2
1826	326	137	5	2
1827	342	136	5	2
1828	362	148	5	2
1829	385	159	5	2
1830	381	163	6	2
1831	381	163	5	2
1832	368	162	5	2
1833	360	142	5	2
1834	349	140	5	2
1835	350	143	5	2
1836	343	144	5	2

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* For Canada: average strength of 400 men between January and August and of 300 from September to December.

** January-October average.

*** The averages for these years in Canada were calculated by subtracting the strength in Nova Scotia from that in North America. There were 389 men on strength in January 1808, 501 in September and 466 in February 1809.

+ One company was withdrawn from Quebec in October.

++ For Canada: one company arrived in June, increasing the strength from 470 to 584; in October there was an increase in strength for all companies, bringing the total to 648. In Quebec City one company was withdrawn in March.

+++ For Canada: one company arrived in May, two others in June and three others in August, increasing the number of men to 631 in April, 731 in May, 922 in June and 1292 in August. One company was added to the Quebec garrison in November.

# For Canada: 4 companies were withdrawn in June, with a consequent strength reduction from 1263 in May to 830 in July. A number of men left the service and in December only 738 remained.

## The number of men per company was decreased, reducing strength to 723 in June, 679 in July and 599 in August.

### Two companies were withdrawn in June, reducing the numbers from 503 in May to 374 in June.

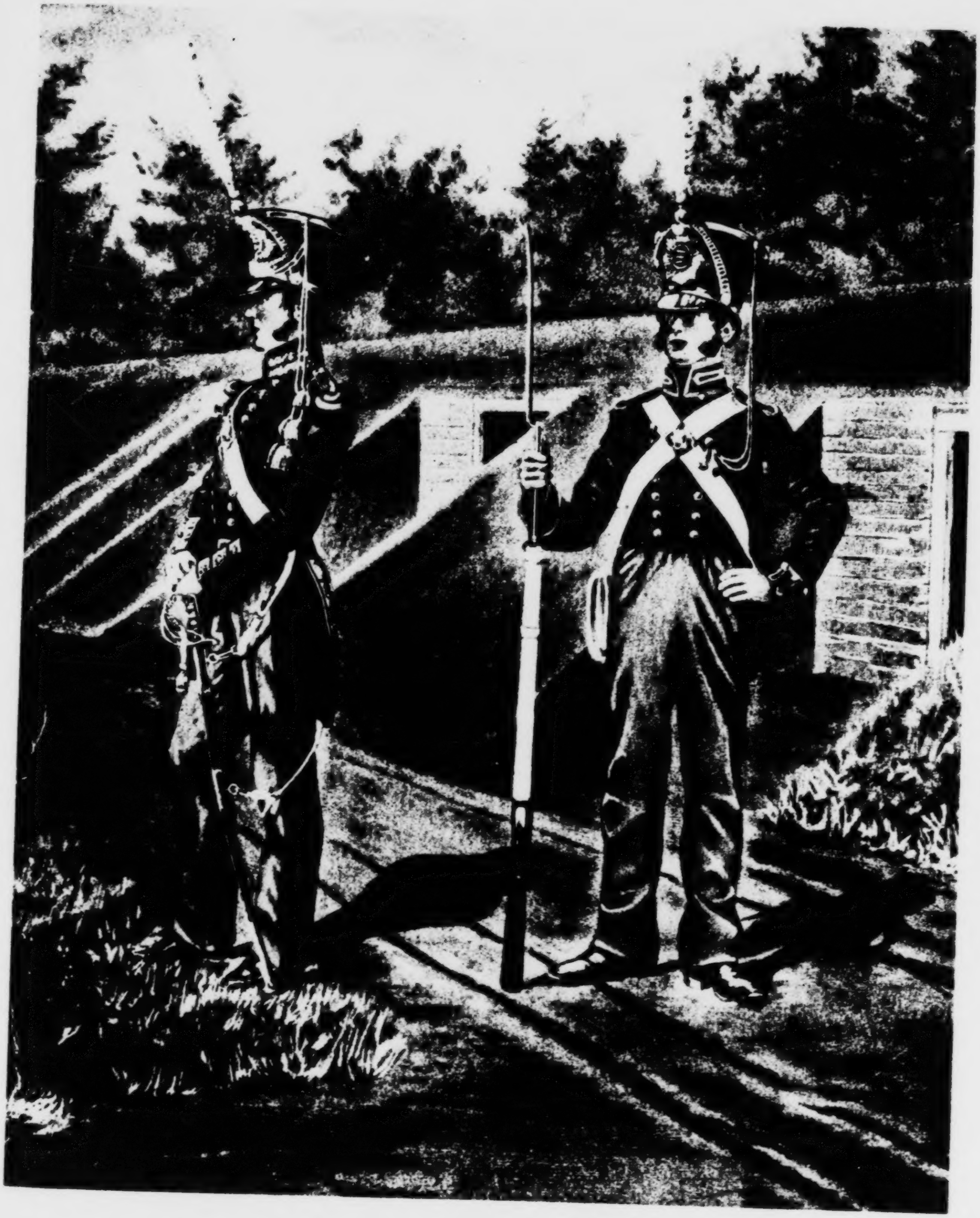


Figure 3. An officer (left) and a gunner (right) of the Regiment of Royal Artillery in 1828.

varied from 300 to 380. During this period the five companies stationed in Canada were posted as follows: two in Kingston, one in Montreal and two in Quebec City.

Strength reductions were reflected in the number of artillerymen stationed in Quebec City - approximately 80 men between 1816 and 1818. Nevertheless, the force began to grow in strength in 1819, reaching a level close to that of the 1813-15 period. From 1820 to 1836 the Royal Regiment of Artillery strength in the city was approximately 142, or 42 per cent of the total for Canada as a whole.

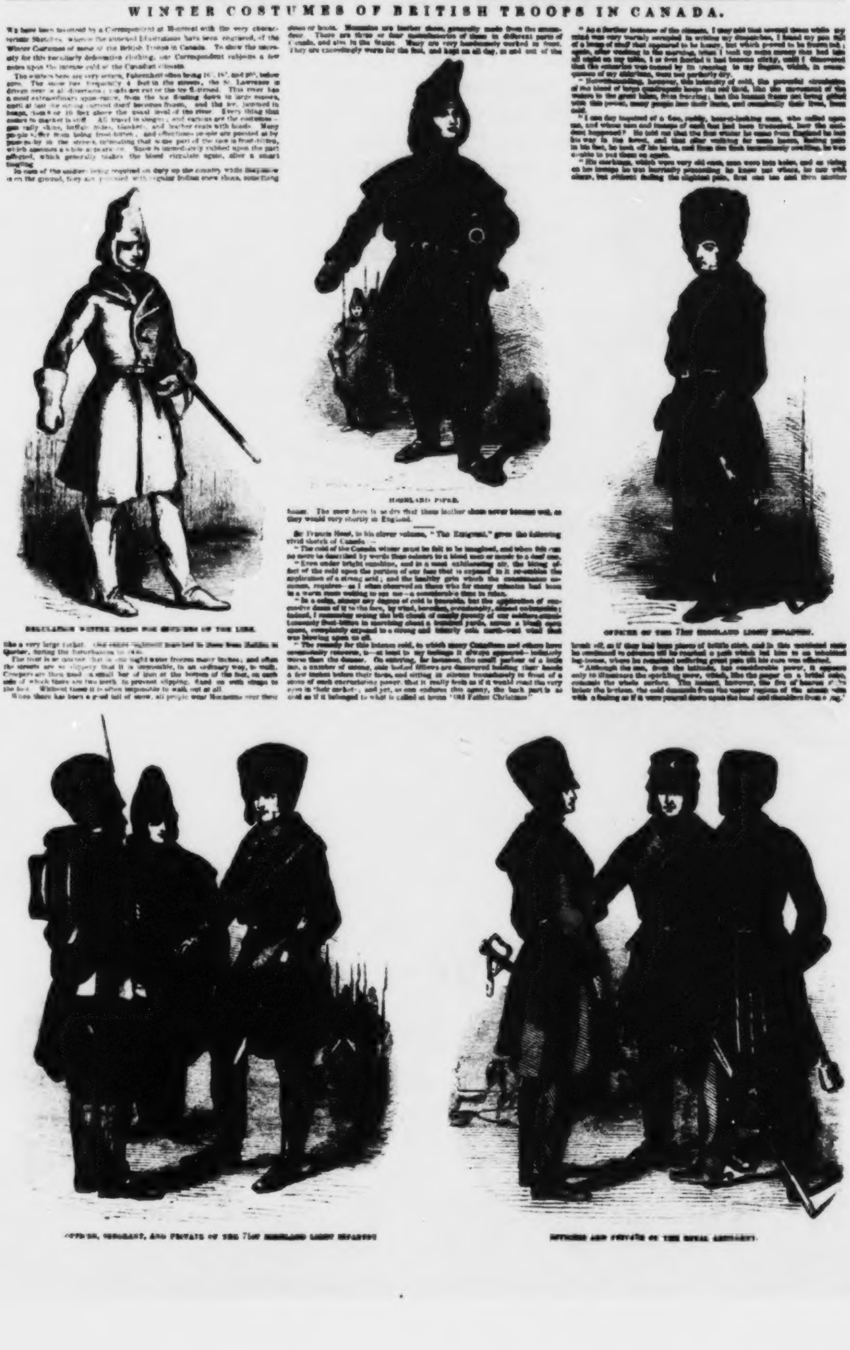
The 1791-1836 period can thus be divided into three main phases. First, a time of peace (1791-1812) during which there was a slow increase in the strength of the regiment in Canada, while the numbers stationed in Quebec City varied according to changing military strategies which initially distributed the artillery troops more evenly among Quebec City, Montreal and Upper Canada, and later concentrated them in Quebec City. In the ensuing period of war (1812-17) the strength of the regiment doubled in Canada but the numbers stationed in Quebec City dropped. Finally, when peace returned the establishment was reduced to the prewar (1807-12) level, although a greater proportion of the troops were sent to the posts in Upper Canada or the district of Montreal.

1837-71

In 1837 the political climate in Lower Canada seemed to foreshadow the outbreak of an armed conflict. In the circumstances, the Commander of the Forces in Canada, Colborne, directed the Royal Regiment of Artillery to purchase 44 horses for the purpose of forming field artillery detachments.[36] In addition a company was transferred from Kingston to Montreal. The rebellion did in fact break out in November and the field artillery detachments were part of Colborne's expedition to Saint Denis, Saint Charles and Saint Eustache. At the same time the officer commanding the regiment in Canada, Lieutenant-Colonel Kirby, was ordered to prepare the city of Quebec to withstand a possible siege. At the end of November Kirby wrote Colborne's secretary to inform him that he had at that time 174 guns mounted on the fortifications, manned by 23 non-commissioned officers and 114 gunners; and that he required three companies of colonial artillery.[37] These were duly raised and remained until May of the following year.[38] In the interval Kirby called for reinforcements from the home country, cancelled all releases for soldiers and proceeded to re-enlist suitable ex-artillerymen living in Canada.[39]

Between January 1838 and January 1839 four artillery companies were sent to Canada. One company was added to those already serving in Montreal and three others sent as reinforcements to Upper Canada. In 1843 two companies were withdrawn from the country. Until 1853 the seven remaining were posted in the following locations: two in Kingston, one in London, two in Montreal and two in Quebec City. The number of artillerymen in Quebec City remained unchanged. From 1837 to 1853 Royal Artillery strength in the garrison averaged 165 men, or 20 to 30 per cent of the entire strength of the army in Canada.

In 1854 Britain was at war in the Crimea and a considerable number



108 THE ILLUSTRATED LONDON NEWS [Feb. 17, 1849.

WINTER COSTUMES OF BRITISH TROOPS IN CANADA.

Figure 4. Winter dress of British troops in Canada in 1849. The uniform of the Royal Regiment of Artillery is illustrated in the lower right-hand corner.

of artillery companies were dispatched to that theatre of operations. To replace troops moved from England for that purpose, part of those stationed in the colonies were repatriated. As early as November 1853 two artillery companies had been withdrawn from Canada. In 1854 three others followed them back to England. The two remaining companies had their headquarters in Quebec City. To offset these withdrawals, colonial artillery companies were mustered in the principal towns: Quebec, Montreal, Ottawa, Hamilton and Kingston.[40] In 1855-56 the effective strength of the British artillery company in Canada was reduced, but it rose again between 1857 and 1859. From 130 to 160 gunners, however, were left in Quebec City, detachments being dispatched to other Canadian stations. In 1859 these two companies were converted into garrison batteries, each with a strength of 117 non-commissioned officers and soldiers.[41] Officers included, this meant that the two batteries had a combined strength of 240 men, of whom 160 were stationed in Quebec City.

The American Civil War broke out in April 1861. During the summer Britain dispatched one field artillery battery to serve the Montreal and Kingston districts. In November of that year the Trent affair[43] brought about the further dispatch of British troops to Canada and the Maritime colonies. Reinforcements destined for Canada, disembarking in Halifax in midwinter, made their way to Canada overland. These troops included ten batteries of artillery[44] to be added to the three already there. From now on the 13 batteries were distributed as follows: three in Quebec City, four in the Montreal district and six in western Canada. The next year one battery was withdrawn from the Montreal district and Canada was to retain 12 artillery batteries until 1869. The Civil War, lasting until 1865, and the Fenian Raids, which followed shortly thereafter, obliged Britain to keep large numbers of troops in Canada. In Quebec City, the presence of a third artillery battery meant that there were more than 300 gunners in the garrison. In addition, in January 1862 three batteries of colonial artillery were recruited,[45] but these were demobilized as the danger of war receded. Quebec City was however to retain its three garrison artillery batteries with a total strength of more than 300 men[46] until 1870.

In 1869 the secretary of state for war suggested a new policy whereby the number of British troops stationed abroad would be cut in half and the colonies requested to look to their own defence.[47] The policy nevertheless provided for the maintenance of British garrisons in certain places. In Canada it was decided that Halifax would remain an Imperial responsibility, and that the defence of the other posts, including Quebec City, would be placed in the hands of the Government of Canada.[48] As a result of this decision all troops were to be withdrawn from Quebec and Ontario. Six batteries were withdrawn from Canada in the summer of 1869.[49] Quebec retained three and three others were left in Montreal, Kingston and Toronto. In June 1870 two artillery batteries were transferred to Halifax and in November[50] three embarked for the Caribbean.[51] The last one remaining left Quebec for Halifax on November 11, 1871.[52] The Royal Regiment of Artillery units were replaced by three Canadian artillery companies, one stationed in Kingston, one in Quebec City and one divided between Montreal and Toronto. The Royal Regiment of Artillery was however to

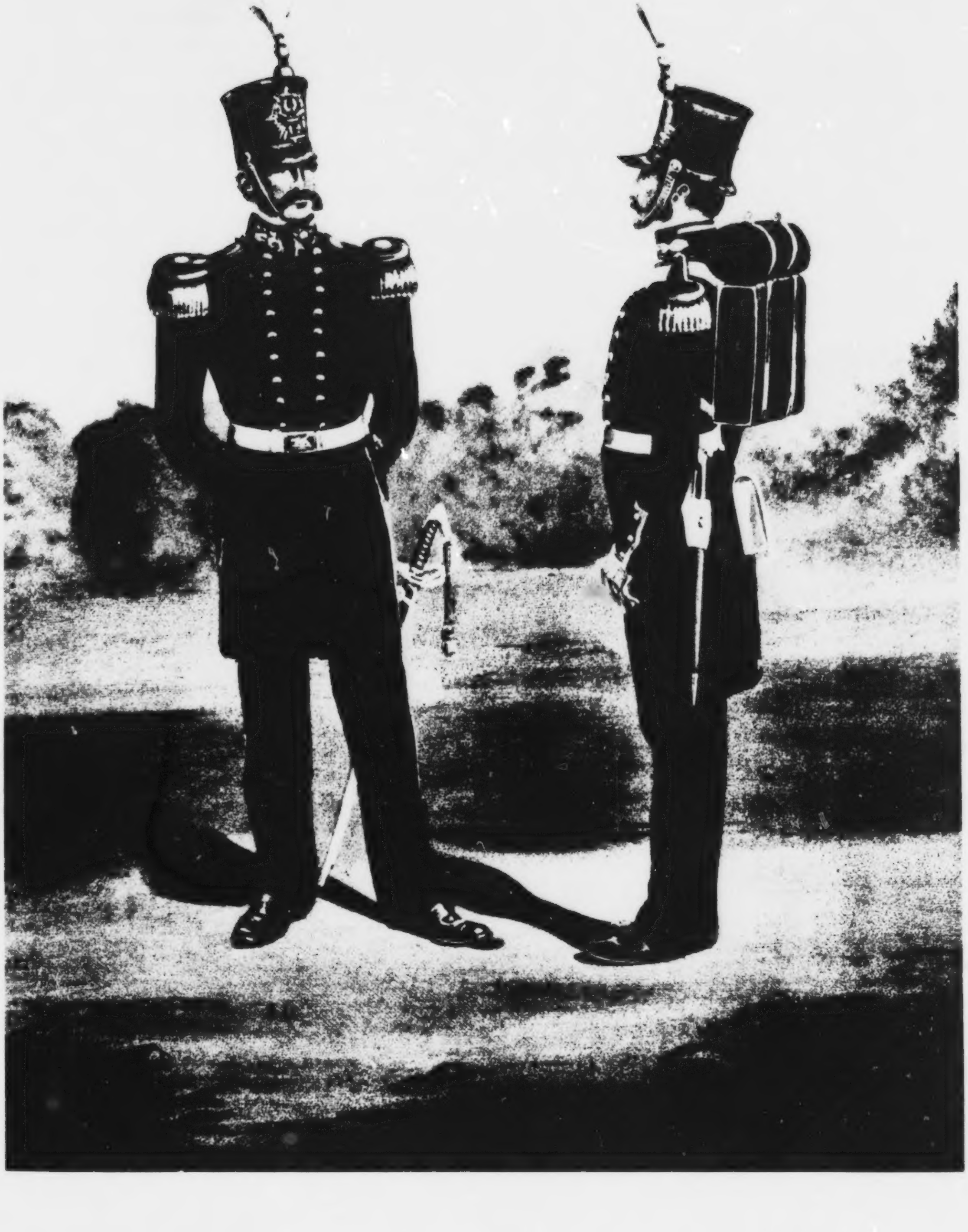


Figure 5. A senior officer (left) and a gunner of the Royal Regiment of Artillery in 1854.

Table 6. Establishment of Royal Artillery Regiment and Number of Companies or Batteries in Canada and Quebec City 1837-71[42]

	Establishment		Number of Companies or Batteries	
Year	Canada	Quebec City	Canada	Quebec City
1837	359	157	5	2
1838	549*	150	5*	2
1839	754*	125	9*	1
1840	825	160	9	2
1841	819	178	9	2
1842	823	167	9	2
1843	727*	167	9**	2
1844	629	171	7	2
1845	646	171	7	2
1846	627	169	7	2
1847	611	160	7	2
1848	608	160	7	2
1849	669	183	7	2
1850	664	179	7	2
1851	669	181	7	2
1852	650	179	7	2
1853	592***	165	7***	2
1854	369+	145	5+	2
1855	179	139	2	2
1856	166	136	2	2
1857	198	153	2	2
1858	213	154	2	2
1859	238	160	2	2
1860	246	161	2	2
1861	327++	161	2++	2
1862	1638+++	314	3+++	2
1863	1870	327	13#	3
1864	1721	294	12	2
1865	1599	312	12	3
1866			12	3
1867	1818		12	3
1868	1705		12	3
1869	1163###		12##	4
1870	519&		6###	3
1871&&	104	104	1	1

* One company arrived in January 1838, followed by two others in July and a fourth in January 1839, with an increase in strength from 372 in January 1838 to 447 in February, 685 in July, 716 in February 1839 and 844 in September.

** Two companies left in June, reducing strength from 798 in June to 627 in July.

*** Two companies left in November, with a consequent reduction in strength from 549 in November to 430 in December.

+ Three companies left in September, reducing the total strength from 391 in September to 286 in October.

++ One field artillery battery arrived in July, with a consequent increase in strength from 227 in July to 469 in August.

+++ Four field artillery batteries and six garrison artillery batteries arrived during the winter, with a further increase in strength from 460 in January to 1982 in March.

# One battery was withdrawn, probably in October.

## Provinces of Ontario and Quebec only.

### Six batteries were withdrawn in May and June, strength dropping from 1883 men in April to 757 in July.

& Two batteries were withdrawn in June and three others in October, with a reduction in strength from 724 in June to 364 in July and 110 in November.

&& The last battery was withdrawn in November.

contribute to the training of Canadian gunners by providing instructors. In November 1871 Captain Thomas B. Strange settled in Quebec City to take over command of the School of Gunnery.[53] Twelve non-commissioned officers of the regiment arrived in May 1872 to serve as instructors in the schools of Quebec City and Kingston.[54]

It is obvious then that the Quebec garrison had always required a minimum number of gunners, both in time of war and crisis and in time of peace. In time of war there were considerable increases in strength. As a result of the development of Upper Canada and the 1837 rebellions, as well as the American Civil War, there was an increase in the strength of the stations in the Montreal area and in Upper Canada. In peacetime the number of troops in these regions was reduced, however. On the other hand a general increase in total effective strength, both in Quebec City and in Canada as a whole, can be noted from one period of war to another as well as from one period of peace to another.

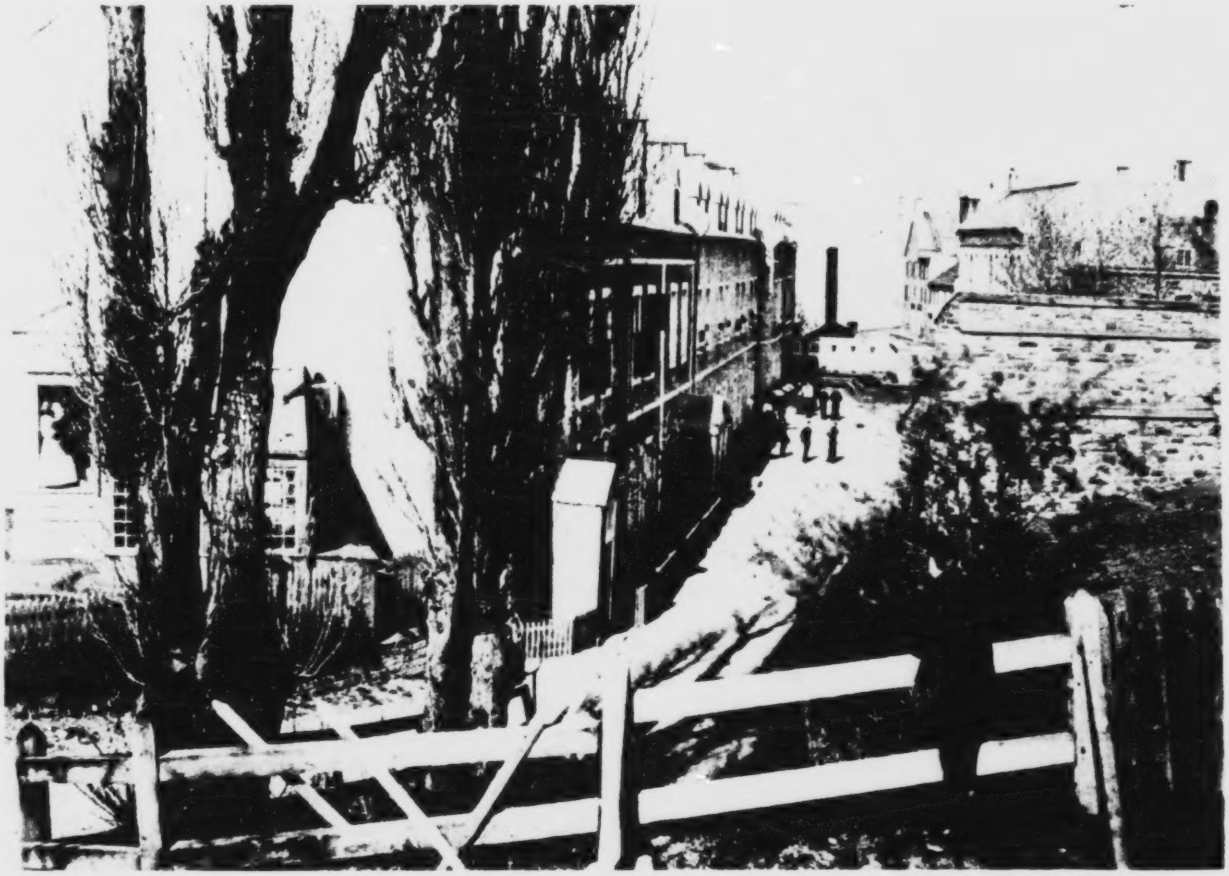


Figure 6. Artillerymen in front of the barracks in Quebec City in 1871. Photograph by Livernois and Bienvenu (*Inventaire des biens culturels du Québec*).

Monthly Variations

In order to illustrate monthly variations in numbers, we have selected two periods during which troop strength remained relatively stable.

1783-86[55]

As a first example we will consider the case of four companies of the 4th Battalion, Royal Regiment of Artillery, stationed in the province of Quebec between October 1783 and October 1786. The companies had landed in North America in the summer of 1773 and had fought in the War of Independence.[56] In the fall of 1783 three of them were transferred from New York to Sorel, and the fourth from New York to Quebec City to replace others withdrawn from Canada. In August 1784 one company left Sorel for Quebec, followed by another in November. Finally all four were relieved in October 1786.[57] During the period October 1783 to May 1786 there was a total decrease in strength of 74 for the four companies. Since the number of new arrivals taken on strength matched the number of departures, the net reduction in strength was the result of the release of 63 men on medical or similar grounds, seven deaths and four desertions. The relatively large number of releases can be accounted for by the aging of the troops, which had been abroad for more than ten years. These men were not replaced by new recruits, moreover, no doubt because these troops were scheduled to be relieved. The four companies, whose combined strength was down to approximately 180 at the end of September 1786,[58] were in fact replaced by four companies of the 1st Battalion numbering more than 260 men,[59] a figure more or less matching that of November 1, 1783.

1833-36

As of January 1833 the five artillery companies in Canada had not spent the same amount of time in the colony. One of these had arrived in the summer of 1827, two in the summer of 1829 and the last two in the summer of 1830. They had therefore not been absent from Britain for as long as the companies previously referred to, a fact which helps to explain why fewer men were discharged on medical or similar grounds. On the other hand, the number of deserters was proportionately higher,[61] no doubt because of laxer discipline and the attraction of the neighbouring United States. The death rate was also relatively high because of the frequent cholera epidemics of the time. In contrast to the 1783-86 period, a detachment of recruits was sent out as replacements every year, usually in the fall, bringing the total strength to 360 men or so. However, in July 1835 advantage was taken of the relief of the senior company in Canada - senior in terms of service in the country - to bring the troops up to full establishment. The number of gunners rose or fell according to circumstances, such as the arrival or departure of small detachments of no more than six men or - and this was more often the case - the transfer of officers from one

Table 7. Monthly Strength Variations of the Royal Regiment of Artillery in Canada and Quebec City: November 1763 - May 1786

Date	Canada Strength	Changes					Quebec City Strength
		A	D	M	P	R	
1 Nov. 1783	262						64
1 Dec. 1783	254	-	-	-	-	8	60
1 Jan. 1784	253	-	-	-	-	1	60
1 Feb. 1784	249	-	-	-	-	4	60
1 Mar. 1784	248	-	-	1	-	-	59
1 Apr. 1784	246	-	-	-	-	2	59
1 May 1784	239	-	-	-	-	7	59
1 June 1784	234	-	-	1	-	4	58
1 July 1784	230	-	3	1	-	-	59
1 Aug. 1784	222	-	-	-	2	6	111
1 Sept. 1784	221	1	-	-	-	2	109
1 Oct. 1784	223	2	-	-	-	-	109
1 Nov. 1784	204	1	-	-	-	20	95
25 Nov. 1784	205	2	1	-	-	-	116
25 Dec. 1784	204	-	-	-	-	-	116
25 Jan. 1785	204	-	-	-	-	-	116
25 Feb. 1785	204	-	-	-	-	-	116
25 Mar. 1785	204	-	-	-	-	-	116
25 Apr. 1785	204	-	-	-	-	-	118
25 May 1785							
24 June 1785	206	3	-	1	-	-	118
25 July 1785	203	-	-	1	1	1	117
24 Aug. 1785	195	-	-	1	-	7	109
25 Sept. 1785	195	-	-	-	-	-	109
28 Oct. 1785	186	1	-	-	10	-	
1 Dec. 1785	184	-	-	-	2	-	111
1 Jan. 1786	190	6	-	-	-	-	112
1 Feb. 1786	189	-	-	-	1	-	110
1 Mar. 1786	189	-	-	-	-	-	110
1 Apr. 1786	188	-	-	1	-	-	109
1 May 1786	186	-	-	-	-	1	108

A: arrivals; D: deserters; M: deaths; P: departures, R: releases.

company to another or their proceeding on leave, on occasion accompanied by their servants, who were also members of the regiment. Larger departing detachments might be made up of soldiers to be invalided out of the service in Great Britain or sentenced to transportation for desertion.

From the above we may conclude that a maximum number of artillerymen was set for a given period, but that the effective strength fluctuated below full establishment. Originally companies were at full strength, thereafter losing men from month to month. Periodically they were brought up to full establishment. Such was the case of the Royal Regiment of Artillery in Quebec City. In our first example the number of companies was increased in the period under review. In the second, reductions in strength were recorded with the departure of detachments and conversely, increases with the arrival of new drafts, since Quebec City served as a colonial terminal for such troop movements. As for the numbers of deaths, releases and desertions, they were proportional to the total figures for the whole of Canada.

Table 8. Monthly Strength Variations of the Royal Regiment of Artillery in Canada and Quebec: 1833-36[60]

Date	Canada Strength	Changes					Quebec City Strength
		A	D	M	P	R	
1 Jan. 1833	364	–	–	–	–	–	140
1 Feb. 1833	363	–	–	1	–	–	140
1 Mar. 1833	362	–	1	–	–	–	140
1 Apr. 1833	362	–	–	–	–	–	140
1 May 1833	361	2	2	1	–	–	135
1 June 1833	354	–	1	1	4	–	140
1 July 1833	352	–	–	1	–	–	138
1 Aug. 1833	352	–	–	–	–	–	138
1 Sept. 1833	348	–	3	–	3	–	137
1 Oct. 1833	378	32	2	–	–	–	170
1 Nov. 1833	364	–	1	–	13	–	143
1 Dec. 1833	361	–	3	–	–	–	143
1 Jan. 1834	361	–	–	–	–	–	143
1 Feb. 1834	361	–	–	–	–	–	143
1 Mar. 1834	361	–	–	–	–	–	143
1 Apr. 1834	351	–	8	1	1	–	142
1 May 1834	351	1	1	–	–	–	138
1 June 1834	350	–	–	–	1	–	137
1 July 1834	347	–	2	–	1	–	142
1 Aug. 1834	344	–	–	2	1	–	139
1 Sept. 1334	341	4	–	7	–	–	145
1 Oct. 1834	318	1	–	–	24*	–	119
1 Nov. 1834	349	32	–	1	–	–	146
1 Dec. 1834	348	1	–	–	1	1	145
1 Jan. 1835	348	–	–	–	–	–	145
1 Feb. 1835	348	–	–	–	–	–	145
1 Mar. 1835	346	–	–	–	1	1	144
1 Apr. 1835	346	–	–	–	–	–	144
1 May 1835	343	–	–	1	–	2	138
1 June 1835	343	–	–	–	–	–	139
1 July 1835	341	1	2	–	1	–	142
1 Aug. 1835	364	87	–	–	63	1	148
1 Sept. 1835	358	–	1	1	2	2	142
1 Oct. 1835	358	–	–	–	–	–	143
1 Nov. 1835	356	–	–	–	2	–	145
1 Dec. 1835	352	–	1	–	2	1	146
1 Jan. 1836	352	–	–	–	–	–	146
1 Feb. 1836	350	–	–	2	–	–	146
1 Mar. 1836	350	–	–	–	–	–	146
1 Apr. 1836	347	–	–	1	–	2	144
1 May 1836	347	–	–	–	–	–	138
1 June 1836	346	–	–	–	–	–	138
1 July 1836	341	–	3	–	–	1	136
1 Aug. 1836	323	–	6	–	11	1	132
1 Sept. 1836	321	–	2	–	–	–	132
1 Oct. 1836	318	–	1	–	1	–	126
1 Nov. 1836	358	40	–	–	1	1	166
1 Dec. 1836	357	2**	–	–	1	1	164

A: arrivals; D: deserters; M: deaths; P: departures; R: releases.

* Includes 3 deportees.

** Includes 1 recaptured deserter.

Number of Officers, Sergeants and Other Ranks

The monthly strength returns provide information on the number of officers of various ranks, surgeons, drummers and privates in the Royal Regiment of Artillery in Canada from 1760 to 1871. As for Quebec City, these details are unavailable for the period 1786-1831.[62]

Tables 9 and 10 show, in absolute figures and percentages, the number of officers, sergeants and other ranks in the regiment in Canada as well as in Quebec City on various dates at three-year intervals.[63]

The number of officers recorded in some cases may not match the total number of those posted to companies serving in Canada, some of them being on leave in Britain at the time. Leave was granted in peacetime to allow officers to settle their family affairs. Thus, although there were approximately six officers per company, on the average between 15 and 30 per cent of them were on leave at any given time, thereby reducing the proportion of officers in Canada and Quebec City. In wartime the number of privates and sergeants per company was as a rule increased, while the number of officers remained unchanged. Table 9 indicates a percentage reduction in officer strength for 1811 and 1814 and the subsequent postwar increase due to a decrease in the number of soldiers per company. An examination of the two tables does

Table 9. Officers, Sergeants and Other Ranks of the Royal Regiment of Artillery Present in Canada, 1762-1865

	Officers		Sergeants		Other Ranks		Total
Date	N	%	N	%	N	%	
June 1 1776	26	9	11	4	253	87	290
Jan. 1 1780	12	5	5	2	231	93	248
Jan. 1 1783	18	6	7	2	259	91	284
Jan. 24 1786	17	9	7	4	173	88	197
Jan. 1 1789	17	8	4	2	185	90	206
Jan. 1 1792	17	6	8	3	271	92	296
Jan. 1 1794	18	6	8	3	268	91	294
Jan. 1 1800	16	6	16	6	220	87	252
Jan. 1 1808	16	4	10	3	363	93	389
Jan. 25 1811	14	3	8	2	409	95	431
Jan. 25 1814	21	3	14	2	600	94	635
Jan. 25 1817	20	4	15	3	474	93	509
Jan. 25 1820	14	4	11	3	302	92	327
Jan. 25 1823	16	5	14	5	278	90	308
Jan. 25 1826	16	6	13	4	297	91	326
Jan. 26 1829	21	6	9	3	328	92	358
Jan. 1 1832	21	6	12	3	342	91	375
Jan. 1 1835	23	7	11	3	314	90	348
Jan. 1 1838	23	6	12	3	337	91	372
Jan. 1 1841	42	5	23	3	756	92	821
Jan. 1 1844	35	6	20	3	580	91	635
Jan. 1 1847	34	6	29	5	550	90	613
Jan. 1 1850	36	5	23	3	604	91	663
Jan. 1 1853	39	6	24	4	590	90	653
Jan. 1 1856	7	6	8	7	108	88	123
Jan. 1 1859	11	5	13	5	213	90	237
Mar. 1 1862	82	4	131	7	1773	89	1982
Jan. 1 1865	70	4	106	7	1441	89	1617

Table 10. Officers, Sergeants and Other Ranks of the Royal Regiment of Artillery Present in Quebec City, 1762-1865 and 1832-65

	Officers		Sergeants		Other Ranks		Total
Date	N	%	N	%	N	%	
June 24 1762	11	6	6	3	162	91	179
Jan. 24 1766	5	9	2	4	46	87	53
Jan. 1 1770	4	9	2	4	41	87	47
Sept. 1 1777	1	2	2	4	42	93	45
Jan. 1 1780	2	5	2	5	35	90	39
Jan. 1 1783	3	6	2	4	48	91	53
Jan. 24 1786	12	11	1	1	97	88	110
Jan. 1 1832	9	5	5	3	160	92	174
Jan. 1 1835	10	7	3	2	132	91	145
Jan. 1 1838	9	6	5	3	132	90	146
Jan. 1 1841	8	4	6	3	169	92	183
Jan. 1 1844	9	5	7	4	158	91	174
Jan. 1 1847	9	6	6	4	146	91	161
Jan. 1 1850	9	5	5	3	166	92	180
Jan. 1 1853	11	6	6	3	161	90	178
Jan. 1 1856	5	5	6	6	84	88	95
Jan. 1 1859	7	4	10	6	145	90	162
Mar. 1 1862	15	5	22	7	284	88	321
Jan. 1 1865	12	4	25	8	288	89	325

not show that the proportion of officers in Quebec City was higher than in the rest of Canada. For the entire period the average proportion of officers was five per cent.

Until 1854 sergeants made up an average of three per cent of the strength of the Royal Regiment of Artillery in Quebec City and Canada. After 1854 this figure rose to seven per cent, smiths and farriers being counted as sergeants.[64]

Other ranks made up 91 per cent of the total strength. Monthly strength returns more often than not lumped privates, corporals and bombardiers together, the last two being non-commissioned officers junior to a sergeant. Drummers were reckoned as a separate class but were treated as privates, and so they have been included in the tables along with the others. Drummers made up from one to four per cent of the total strength, and corporals and bombardiers together from six to nine per cent.[65] If the last two groups are excluded, we can say that privates made up about 80 per cent of the total regimental strength in Canada and Quebec City.

Number of Dependent Women and Children

No record exists of the number of women and children accompanying the members of the Royal Regiment of Artillery in the monthly strength returns. This information had to be obtained by consulting military regulations and correspondence.

Proportion of Married Men

The number of marriages was limited by regulations requiring any soldier wishing to marry to first obtain permission from his superiors. Furthermore, when men were posted overseas the number of wives allowed to accompany them was restricted. In 1813 the number of wives of non-commissioned officers and privates authorized to follow their husbands was fixed by regulation at 12 per garrison company or six per cent for those companies destined for active service on the battle-field.[66] This regulation probably applied to the Royal Regiment of Artillery.[67] We know, moreover, that the number of wives entitled to draw free rations from regimental stores was also limited. For example, in 1830 the wife of Corporal Hill received no rations, she being "behind the authorized number of women permitted by the Regulations."[68] Thus any man wishing to marry was first required to obtain permission from his commanding officer. It was only then that he could ask that his wife be placed on the list of those entitled to rations. Before such permission was granted, however, the commanding officer would take into account the applicant's number of years of service and his record of conduct (Appendix E). Some men, however, married without permission. In 1836, for instance, the regiment's commanding officer in Quebec City received a petition from six gunners asking for pardon for marrying without permission and to be entitled to obtain rations and quarters for their families.[69] In those days dependants were housed in the barracks, a number of families occasionally sharing a single room. Should the wife live in town, as was sometimes the case, the husband was required to seek permission from his superiors to live with her.

In the 1860s British military authorities began to look into the possibility of providing married quarters. The proposals for accommodating married non-commissioned officers and other ranks give some indication of the relative number of men authorized to marry. In 1866 the military engineer in Canada estimated that 32 married quarters would be required for the Royal Regiment of Artillery in Quebec City,[70] a figure representing accommodation for at least ten per cent of the non-commissioned officers and other ranks. In 1867 the report of Engineer Galloway to the director of works at the War Office indicated a requirement in Quebec City for 46 married quarters for the Royal Regiment: 21 for sergeants and 25 for other ranks, as per the established standards.[71] Since at full strength the sergeants and privates numbered 324,[72] this suggests a proportion of 13 per cent married men. However, if the number of sergeants is subtracted - senior non-commissioned officers almost invariably enjoyed the privilege of married quarters - the proportion of others (corporals, bombardiers and privates) entitled to married quarters falls to a mere seven per cent. Generally speaking, a larger number of non-commissioned officers and other ranks were allowed to marry in 1865 then in 1813. As for officers, there would appear to have been nothing to prevent them from marrying as they pleased.

Number of Wives

The number of wives present with the Royal Regiment of Artillery in Quebec City did not necessarily match that of married men. Some of the latter, posted to remote stations in Upper Canada, were obliged to leave their wives and children behind in Quebec City. Every year Captain Wulff, the officer commanding the Royal Artillery in Fort George, Upper Canada, would request permission to rejoin his family in the city.[73]

The married men in that officer's command were no doubt in a similar position. An 1813 document listing the troops of the Quebec garrison records the presence of 121 members of the Royal Regiment of Artillery along with 61 dependent women and 161 children.[74] Another document of the following year speaks of 123 men, 63 women and 149 children.[75] This appears to indicate a concentration of the families of the members of the regiment within the walls of Quebec in time of war, it being highly improbable that 50 per cent of the men were married. It is impossible, however, on the basis of such information as is available at present, to say what the percentage of women residing in Quebec City for the entire period might have been.

Number of Children

It is possible to arrive at an average figure in respect of the number of children per family in the case of non-commissioned officers and other ranks of the various companies of the regiment by examining applications for rations for fatherless or motherless children. Fifty-four such letters were studied, involving the period 1825-67.[76] If the father had died, the request was for his widow and children under the age of 14 to continue to draw rations until their repatriation to England. Soldiers who had lost their wives applied for rations for their children, to be issued until such time as they managed to find a new home for them. Eight such letters submitted by widowers were examined. Together these men had 19 children, an average of two and one-half children per family. It should be noted, however, that these figures make no allowance for childless widowers who, if taken into account, would tend to reduce the average. Of the 46 widows counted, 32 of the women had 69 children between them, an average of just over two per family. If the 14 childless widows are included in the calculations, the average number of children is one and one-half per family.

These average figures are borne out by other sources, namely reports on the number of men, women and children belonging to or accompanying the various detachments arriving in or departing from Quebec City. In the case of two such arrivals for which we have documentation, there are references to an 1806 detachment accompanied by 16 women and 20 children and to another in 1814 with 43 wives and 54 children, or just over one child per wife.[77] We also have corresponding figures for three departing detachments: in 1824, 38 wives and 69 children; in 1830, 23 wives and 53 children; and in 1843, 40 wives and 80 children, for an average of two children per wife.[78] It may be assumed, therefore, that on the average each family had one or two children, although this figure could vary depending on when the new detachments arrived or as a result of the aging of their members.

Officers could marry at will, and according to Claudette Lacelle, one in four had a wife.[79] In addition it was probably possible for them to have somewhat larger families. Lieutenant-Colonel Cubitt, for instance, had nine children when he died in 1840.[80] There is, on the other hand, no reference in the documents consulted to any non-commissioned officer or private having more than five children. From this it might be concluded that, having to wait their turn for permission to marry, they remained bachelors until of a relatively older age, as compared to officers. Infant mortality and extended periods of separation for couples also tended to restrict the number of children.

It has been noted that the number of non-commissioned officers and privates who were officially married varied between six per cent of the establishment in 1813 and 13 per cent in 1866. It has also been shown that the average number of children per family in such cases was one and one-half. Therefore we may add to the total strength of the Royal Regiment of Artillery in Canada a number of dependents equal to about 15 per cent of the strength in 1813 and 30 per cent in 1866.[81] Since officers made up five per cent of the establishment and one-quarter of them had a family, the strength figures should be increased by about four per cent to account for their wives and children.[82]
Considering the position of the Royal Regiment of Artillery in Quebec City, it is safe to assume that in the years immediately preceding the War of 1812 and during the war itself, the wives and children of men serving in isolated posts lived in Quebec City. As Upper Canada developed, and with the erection of barracks in Montreal and Kingston following the rebellions of 1837-38, it probably proved possible to accommodate dependents in those places. In consequence, starting in 1840 the proportion of wives and children of men in the Royal Regiment of Artillery in Quebec City must have been roughly equivalent to that in Canada as a whole.

RANK STRUCTURE, RECRUITMENT AND CAREER PROFILES

There was a distinct social cleavage in the British army between officers on the one hand and non-commissioned officers and privates on the other. Each of these two groups had its own particular place within the hierarchy, set apart by social origin, career possibilities and income.

Rank Structure

For the purposes of this discussion the ranks have been divided into six categories, starting at the top of the hierarchy. The first four are officer categories.

General Officers

These commanded armies or divisions of several regiments. The senior officer was the general commander-in-chief. Below him came other generals, lieutenant-generals and major-generals. In Canada the governor and commander-in-chief occasionally bore the title of full general, but were more usually a lieutenant-general.[1] District commanding officers were selected from among major-generals.

It was possible for the officers of the Royal Regiment of Artillery to achieve promotion to these ranks. From 1760 to 1870 15 per cent of them were to reach that of major-general. This percentage fell to eight per cent in respect of lieutenant-generals and to three per cent in respect of full generals.[2] But it should be noted that artillery officers were promoted to these higher ranks at a more advanced age than those serving in the cavalry or infantry since, unlike the latter, they were not allowed to purchase their commissions and were subject to promotion on the basis of seniority. For this reason most artillery officers only achieved promotion to the rank of full general when about 80 years old. As a rule any Royal Artillery officer promoted to general rank availed himself of the opportunity to retire from the service on a higher pension. Few artillery officers served in Canada as general officers. Lieutenant-General W.F. Williams was commander-in-chief in this country from 1859 to 1865. From 1812 to 1815 Major-General Glasgow was allowed to retain command of the Royal Regiment of Artillery in spite of his promotion to that rank and appointment as commander of the Quebec district.[3] Similarly, when promoted to the rank of major-general in 1819, Colonel Wilson asked to be allowed to remain as commander of the artillery in Canada, a position which he had held since 1817. In support of his request he pointed to the fact that he had already gone to considerable expense to establish himself here and that he stood to suffer financial loss should he not be allowed to retain his command.[4] He was granted a one-year extension, with the added advantage of an increase in pay associated with the promotion.

Field Officers

These were in command of regiments, battalions or units of more than one company. The officer commanding a regiment was styled "colonel-in-chief." In the artillery, where regiments were subdivided into battalions, each of these had a colonel in command, assisted by one or two lieutenant-colonels. It will be remembered that the officers commanding the Royal Regiment of Artillery in Canada and Quebec were selected from its colonels and lieutenant-colonels (Chap. I). Under the colonels were majors, who might be in command of stations with several companies. Officers of lower rank could hold an honorary higher title before achieving promotion to substantive rank in their own regiment. A major, in this way, could be breveted as a lieutenant-colonel. The rank of major was abolished between 1827 and 1872,[5] that of brevet major being retained for acting captains.

Company Officers

Companies were a captain's command. The captain was assisted by a captain-lieutenant styled "second captain" after 1804.[6] Next came the lieutenants, also called subalterns. In 1760 there were three kinds of subalterns: first lieutenants, second lieutenants and lieutenant fireworkers. The latter rank was abolished in 1771 and that of second lieutenant in 1855.[7] A single company-station could be commanded by captains, with lieutenants in charge of detachments.

Medical Officers

These held officer rank in the general rank structure, but were divided into several classes. Until 1805 they started as a surgeon's mate, being thereafter promoted to assistant surgeon and then to surgeon.[8] Subsequently some might achieve the rank of assistant surgeon-general or surgeon-general. After 1805 the title of surgeon's mate was replaced by that of second assistant surgeon. According to military regulations, the rank of surgeon equalled that of captain, and assistant surgeon that of lieutenant, for purposes of assignment to officers' quarters.[9]

Non-Commissioned Officers

These were promoted from the ranks, and save under very exceptional circumstances, never achieved officer status. The Royal Regiment of Artillery had three kinds of non-commissioned officers: sergeants, corporals and bombardiers. The sergeant-major was the senior non-commissioned officer. Other sergeants were assigned to specific tasks by appointment, such as the quartermaster-sergeant or the town-sergeant. In addition sergeants were sometimes given command of small detachments when there were no officers. Corporals and bombardiers were in charge of squads and responsible for sleeping accommodation in barrack blocks.

Privates or Rank and File

Originally privates in the Royal Regiment of Artillery were of two kinds: the matross and the gunner. The former was a recruit who could expect to achieve the rank of gunner after a number of years service. This class disappeared in 1783.[10] Senior gunners were styled "master gunners." When the Royal Artillery Drivers were abolished in 1822, artillerymen were required to learn to handle horses and were thereafter known as gunner-drivers. In 1858, however, the two duties were once again separated, gunners being posted to all artillery batteries and drivers to field artillery batteries. At the bottom of the list came drummers, fifers and trumpeters. These positions were generally held by boys under the age of 18.

Recruiting and Social Background: Officers

The officers of the Royal Regiment of Artillery stood apart from those of other regiments in many respects. Not only was theirs an elite regiment, but they belonged to a technical arm of the service. These two peculiarities were reflected in the recruiting and training of these officers.

Social Background

According to Corvisier, British army military structures matched those of society in general. They were based on wealth as much as on birth,[11] officers recruited from the aristocracy, from the landed gentry, and from the middle class. Table 11 provides comparative figures in respect of officers drawn from these three classes, according to P.E. Razzel.

Razzel further points out that, the higher the rank, the greater the proportion of aristocrats. In 1830, 70 per cent of all generals belonged to that class.[13] One reason for this is the fact that cavalry and infantry officers seeking promotion were required to purchase the commission of the rank immediately above, the price increasing the higher the rank. In addition they had to obtain permission from their regimental commanding officer as well as from the commander-in-chief. The aristocrats who held these positions not unnaturally tended to favour their own kind. The system therefore produced a caste or self-perpetuating clique which delayed the development of a truly professional army.[14]

Commissions could not, however, be purchased in either the Royal Regiment of Artillery, The Royal Engineers or the Royal Marines. Artillery or engineer officers were usually gazetted on graduation from the Woolwich Academy, being subsequently promoted, by seniority, as positions in the rank immediately above theirs became vacant. The fact that there was no purchase of commissions made it possible for men of the middle class to serve in the Royal Artillery on the same footing as aristocrats. The latter were prevented from moving up the promotion ladder in the artillery as quickly as they would have in the cavalry or the infantry, being required to wait their turn like the others. Thus there was a lower proportion of highborn officers in the Royal Regiment of Artillery, elite formation though it was. Indeed this proportion was the lowest in the British forces, with the exception of the Royal Engineers and the Royal Marines.[15] It may therefore be assumed that although artillery officers were recruited from the aristocracy, the landed gentry and the middle class, the proportion of those belonging to the aristocracy was lower than in the case of infantry or cavalry officers.

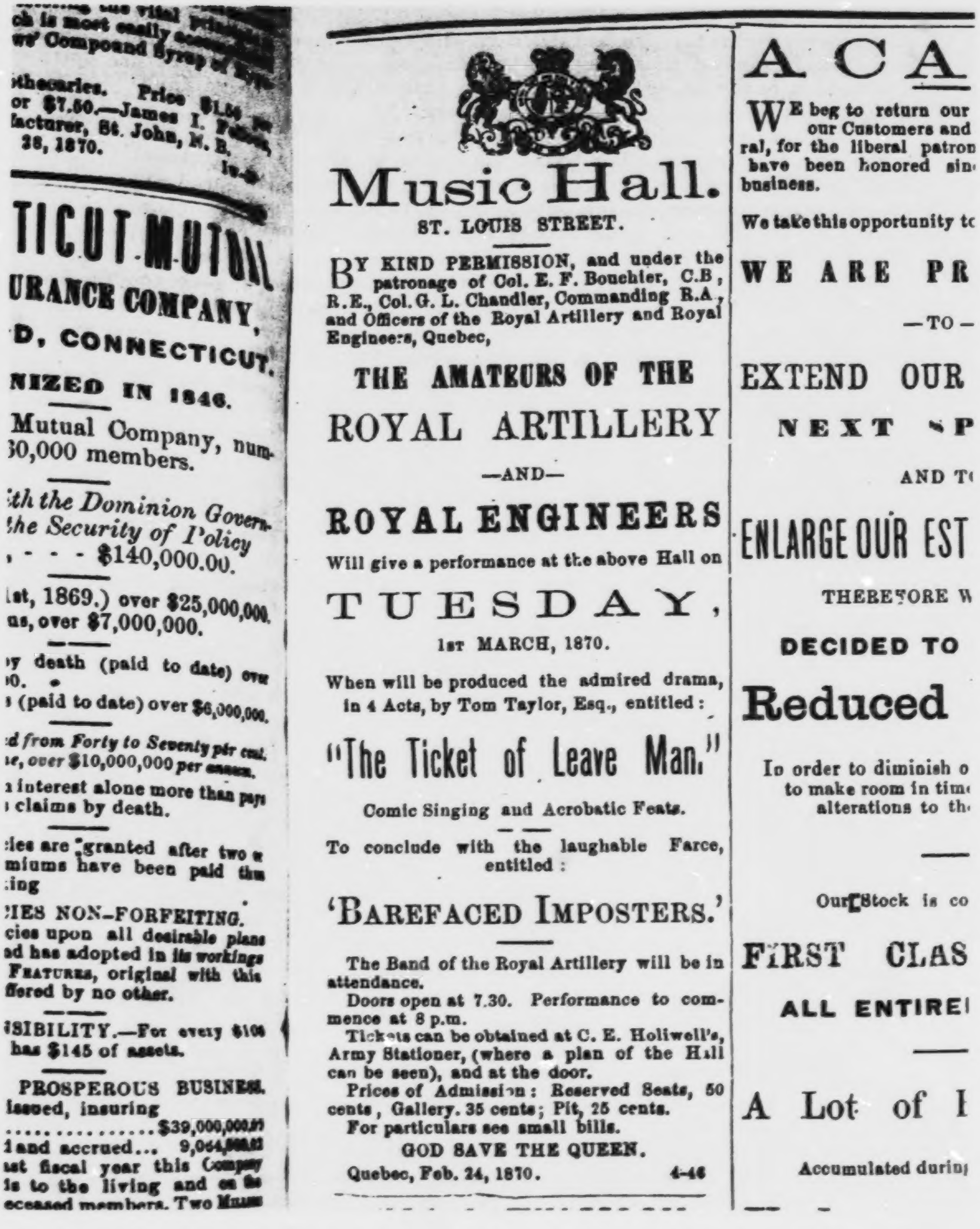
Family Background and Connections

It could be said that the Royal Regiment of Artillery did contribute, in its own way, to the perpetuation of a military caste. Evidence of this is seen in the family connections among officers, in the passing on of a tradition of military service from father to son, and in the marriages between members of various military families. While it is hardly possible to estimate the proportion of officers who came from military families from the material available, the point may nevertheless be made with the help of a few examples.

One of the most striking examples of military tradition within a family is provided by the Cockburns, four generations of whom served as Royal Artillery officers, all posted to Quebec City at one time or another. The first of the line, John Cockburn,[16] enlisted as a cadet in 1763, was commissioned as a second lieutenant in 1771 and served in the American War of Independence. In March 1779 in New

Table 11. Social Background of British Army Officers[12]

	1780 %	1830 %	1875 %
Artistocracy	24	21	18
Landed Gentry	16	32	32
Middle Class	60	47	50



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Music Hall.

ST. LOUIS STREET.

BY KIND PERMISSION, and under the patronage of Col. E. F. Bouchier, C.B., R.E., Col. G. L. Chandler, Commanding R.A., and Officers of the Royal Artillery and Royal Engineers, Quebec,

THE AMATEURS OF THE

ROYAL ARTILLERY

—AND—

ROYAL ENGINEERS

Will give a performance at the above Hall on

TUESDAY,

1ST MARCH, 1870.

When will be produced the admired drama, in 4 Acts, by Tom Taylor, Esq., entitled :

"The Ticket of Leave Man."

Comic Singing and Acrobatic Feats.

To conclude with the laughable Farce, entitled :

'BAREFACED IMPOSTERS.'

The Band of the Royal Artillery will be in attendance.

Doors open at 7.30. Performance to commence at 8 p.m.

Tickets can be obtained at C. E. Holiwell's, Army Stationer, (where a plan of the Hall can be seen), and at the door.

Prices of Admission : Reserved Seats, 50 cents, Gallery. 35 cents; Pit, 25 cents.

For particulars see small bills.

GOD SAVE THE QUEEN.

Quebec, Feb. 24, 1870. 4-46

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WE beg to return our
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Figure 7. Advertisement for an evening of theatrical entertaining offered by officers of the Royal Artillery and Royal Engineers. Bandsmen of the Royal Regiment of Artillery were also in attendance (*Quebec Mercury*, 28 February 1870).

York,[17] his wife gave birth to a son christened James Pattison (no doubt in honour of Major-General James Pattison, R.A., then in command of the city and garrison of New York[18]). After the war, John Cockburn was posted for a time in Quebec City.[19] James Pattison Cockburn[20] entered the Woolwich Military Academy at 14 and was commissioned in the Royal Regiment of Artillery in 1795. Two of his sons followed in his footsteps: John Henry,[21] who entered Woolwich in 1815, and Charles Vanaitard,[22] in 1826. James Pattison first came to Quebec in 1822, departing the following year. He returned in 1826 as Commander, Royal Regiment of Artillery in Canada, remaining in this country until 1832. Cockburn requested permission from the regimental adjutant for his son, John Henry, to join him in Quebec City.[23] John Henry duly arrived in 1828 and was appointed adjutant. While in Quebec, his wife gave birth to three children, one of whom, Charles Frederick, born in 1830, would also become an officer in the Royal Artillery.[24] Charles Frederick[25] entered Woolwich in 1846, was commissioned in 1849, and served in Canada between August 1850 and May 1851.[26]

The story of the family of George Wulff provides some insight into other aspects of the continuity of military service from father to son. Wulff[27] arrived in Quebec City in 1786. He was then a subaltern in the Royal Regiment of Artillery. In 1790 he married Mary Chandler, daughter of Kenelm Chandler, barrack master and ordnance storekeeper in Quebec City.[28] Five children were born of this marriage between 1791 and 1796.[96] In October 1796 Wulff left Canada for service in the Low Countries, leaving his family behind in Quebec City.[30] On returning to Canada in 1800 he was posted to Fort George but his family stayed in Quebec. In 1804 he wrote to the commander-in-chief, referring to his oldest son's situation:

> (he) is arrived at a time of Life, that the loss of a year on his Entry into the Military line he is destined for, maybe of the utmost Consequence to him hereafter and as I shortly expect to receive direction concerning him in consequence of Lord Camden's application for his admission at the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich...[31]

Wulff was advised in October that the master general of ordnance had assured Lord Camden that his - Wulff's - son would be allowed to enter the Academy upon reaching the prescribed age.[32] This son, Kenelm Chandler Wulff,[33] became a cadet in May 1805 at the age of 14 and obtained an Royal Artillery commission in 1808. Another of Wulff's sons, Henry Powell, attended the Academy later on, but became an officer in the Royal Engineers.[34]

Kinship was not restricted to the Royal Regiment of Artillery alone. Lieutenant Charles James Wright[35] of that regiment, stationed in Quebec City in 1838,[36] was the son of Colonel John Ross Wright, the officer commanding the Royal Engineers in Canada at the time.[37] Frederick Campbell,[38] Commander, Royal Artillery in Canada from 1838 to 1847, had a son serving with him as adjutant, Lieutenant F.A. Campbell, R.A.[39] Colonel Campbell also had a brother, an admiral, serving in the Royal Marines.[40] The commanding officer of the Royal Artillery in Kingston, Lieutenant-Colonel Cubitt, attempted to purchase a commission in the 9th Regiment of Foot for his son in 1839.[41]

Other examples of relationships between officers by marriage may be found. It was noted above that George Wulff married the daughter of an Ordnance storekeeper. The daughter of Lieutenant-Colonel James Pattison Cockburn, Eliza, married Captain Frederic Hope of the 15th Regiment of Foot.[42] Daughters of military men being few, however, young officers also married into the middle-class families of Quebec City. Captain Frederick Arabin, for example, was married in 1824 to Eliza Mountain, daughter of the Bishop of the Church of England of Quebec City.[43] Lieutenant Bridge was married to Eliza Godard, whose father, Mason Godard, was a brewer in the city.[44] Captain Abraham Paul's wife was Anne Johnston, daughter of James Johnston, a local merchant.[45] Children born of these marriages retained their British citizenship and left the city when their father was posted back to the United Kingdom.

Professional Background

Normally graduation from the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich was required of all officer candidates. However, prior to 1813 and during the Crimean War, some were in fact commissioned without meeting this requirement. They came from the regiment's junior ranks, from other regiments, or directly from civilian life. As Table 12 shows, the percentage of cadets rose over the years. From 1814 on, except for the period 1855-56, there were few if any officers who were not Woolwich graduates; the number of officers commissioned from the junior ranks became progressively smaller. After 1782 it was no longer possible for a private to become an officer. The 24 privates who had done so before

Table 12. Background of Officers Originally Commissioned in the Royal Regiment of Artillery, 1760-1870[46]

Years	Total	Cadets	Sergeants	Privates	RIA*	Others
1760-1792	N 349	233	6	24	0	85
	% 100	67	2	7	0	25
1793-1803	N 463	368	7	0	48	40
	% 100	79	2	0	10	9
1804-1813	N 396	367	8	0	0	21
	% 100	93	2	0	0	5
1814-1854	N 842	840	0	0	0	2
	% 100	100	0	0	0	0
1855-1856	N 163	116	0	0	0	47
	% 100	71	0	0	0	29
1857-1870	N 752	752	0	0	0	0
	% 100	100	0	0	0	0

* Royal Irish Artillery

1782 had had, on the average, some ten years' regimental service prior to promotion. From 1780 to 1813, 21 sergeants were commissioned, but they were assigned to invalid companies and in no case advanced beyond the rank of second lieutenant. Between 1793 and 1803, officers of the Royal Irish Artillery were taken on the strength of the Royal Regiment of Artillery after the two regiments were merged.

Some officers entered the service directly from civilian life, including a few who were appointed in the colonies, such as James Fraser and John Buttin, who received commissions in the Royal Artillery from Carleton in 1782.[47] William Hall,[48] a draughtsman with the Royal Engineers in Quebec City, received a commission in the Royal Regiment of Artillery,[49] and remained until 1806 in Quebec, where he continued to draw plans for the Royal Engineer's office.[50]

Selection and Training of Officers at Woolwich

It has been stated by Harries-Jenkins[51] that, generally speaking, British Army officers were given a classical education, like other young gentlemen of the day. This type of education was however hardly adequate for artillerymen or engineers, and so the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich had been established to provide training for these officers.[52]

The minimum age of entry was 14, with a maximum of 16. In 1835 these limits were raised to 15 and 17 respectively. Harries-Jenkins feels that the cadets' tender age made the Academy more of a public school than a proper military institution.[53] In theory candidates for admission were required to demonstrate some knowledge of English, French, Latin, mathematics, history, geography and draughtsmanship. In practice it would appear that the general level of knowledge was low, so that upgrading was required over the first year. Prior to 1857 no entrance examination was set, cadets being admitted on the recommendation of the master general of ordnance.[54] The courses themselves covered the theoretical and practical knowledge required to exercise the profession. Practical studies and exercises dealt with such subjects as ordnance, mines, field-works and employment of batteries.[55] Theoretical courses taught cadets the geometry, arithmetic, algebra and trigonometry required to carry out artillery or engineering duties. From a training manual for artillerymen we know that Royal Artillery officers were expected to have some knowledge of infantry, cavalry and artillery exercises, guns, projectiles, gun mounts, batteries, bridges, fortifications, methematics, mechanics, geometry and trigonometry.[56] Part of this knowledge was acquired by the cadets at the Academy itself, but they probably had to perfect their knowledge with the help of their officers.

On the average cadets remained at Woolwich for three years, though the length of the stay could vary between peacetime and wartime, as Table 13 shows.

During the Seven Years' War (1756-63), the American War of Independence (1778-82), the French Wars (1794-1807) and the Crimean War (1855-61), the average stay at the Academy was two years. The need to increase the number of battalions led to cadets receiving their

Table 13. Average Number of Years Spent at the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich by Officers Subsequently Commissioned in the Royal Regiment of Artillery, 1760-1870[58]

Years	Number of Officers Commissioned	Average Number of Years At the Academy
1760-63	36	2
1764-68	none	
1768-76	65	4
1777	15	3
1778-82	71	2
1783-85	none	
1786-93	79	5½
1794-1807	517	2
1808-10	119	3
1811-18	156	4
1819-21	15	6
1822-25	40	8½
1826-28	20	3
1829-37	149	4
1838-50	389	3
1851-54	135	4
1855-61	426	2
1862-70	444	2½

commissions before the end of their training. In addition, the examinations which were held regularly between 1764 and 1793, and which cadets had to pass in order to receive a commission, were abolished in 1794 and not reinstated until 1811.[57] In postwar years the prescribed length of studies was extended; establishments were reduced and there were fewer officer positions available.

The final examinations were used to establish an eligibility list of candidates for commissions in the artillery or engineers. Those cadets at the top of the list were allowed to join the regiment of their choice. According to Harries-Jenkins, the Royal Engineers was the usual preferred choice, though there were only a few positions available. The others had no option but to become artillery officers.[59] However, between 1775 and 1779, 70 out of the 579 new Royal Artillery officers, or 12 per cent, managed to transfer to the Royal Engineers.[60] In other words, 70 of tne 107 new Royal Engineers' officers came from the artillery. Since there is no record of any engineer requesting transfer to the artillery, we may conclude that service with the Royal Engineers was more attractive or prestigious than service in the Royal Regiment of Artillery.

Artillery officers, then, were drawn from the aristocracy and middle class. Their training, like that of the engineers, had a technical orientation, but they were also required to learn to command troops, like infantry and cavalry officers.

Recruiting and Social Background: Privates and Non-Commissioned Officers

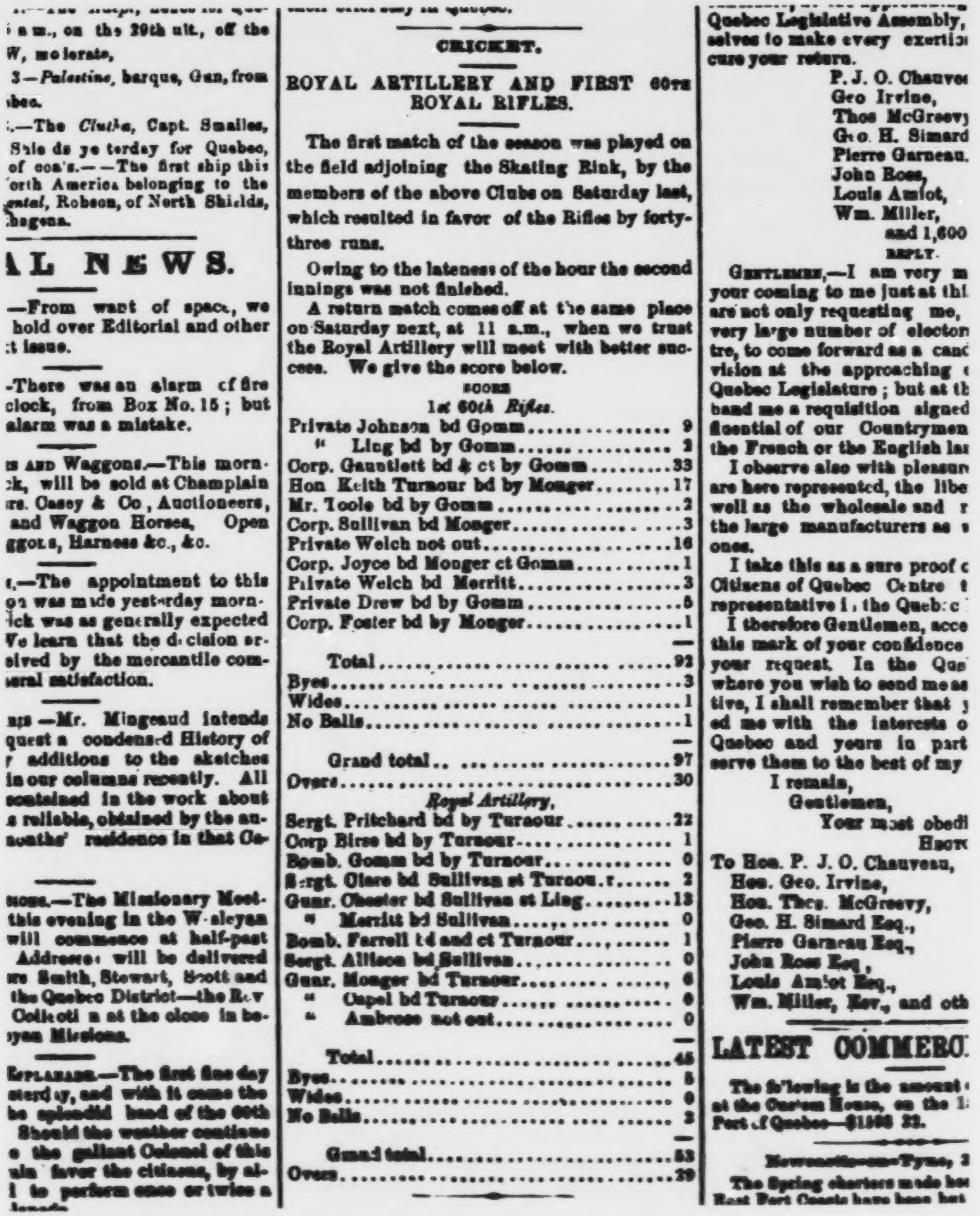
Royal Regiment of Artillery soldiers were drawn from the same social classes as other soldiers of the army, but they were required to meet conditions peculiar to this branch of the service.

Social Background

Corvisier claims that for far too long it has been an accepted fact that the rank and file were recruited from the dregs of urban society,[61] a theory which, as far as he is concerned, does not bear critical examination. In his study of Victorian armies, Allan Ramsey Skelley lists the civilian occupations of recruits before their enlistment in Scotland prior to 1851.[62] Looking at the combined figures for privates and non-commissioned officers, we can see that 34 per cent of them were day labourers, 18 per cent artisans or semi-skilled workers (cobblers, tailors, saddlemakers, cabinet-makers), 16 per cent farm labourers, 6 per cent domestic servants, 4 per cent professionals (teachers or clerks) and 12 per cent belonged to various other groups. Four per cent, however, had no trade before enlisting. These figures give some indication of the varied social backgrounds of soldiers. The situation was probably similar as far as the Royal Regiment of Artillery was concerned. Nevertheless, it does appear that the vast majority of soldiers were drawn from the working classes, while only a tiny number were of middle-class origin.

Family Background and Connections

As was the case for officers, a number of soldiers in the Royal Regiment of Artillery passed the military occupation down from father to son. A soldier having a son who had reached the required age could ask the local Royal Artillery commander to enlist him as a drummer. In 1842, for example, the officer commanding the regiment in Canada recommended favourable consideration of the application of John Ferguson, son of the gunner William Ferguson, to the adjutant-general, being careful to point out that the conduct of both father and son was exemplary.[63] It also appears that it was possible to enlist a drummer who was under the required age and confirm his appointment later. Such was the case of the drummer George Gallagher, who joined up in 1837 at the age of 13.[64] In 1839, however, he chose not to request confirmation, doubtless because he wished to join his father, a corporal, who had deserted and fled to the United States. The enlistment age of drummer boys seems to have varied. There is a record of a request made in 1850 to have the name of a boy aged ten years and three months placed on the list of applicants, he being the son of Gunner Jake Clarke.[65] In wartime the enlistment of gunners' sons as drummers was more expeditious. For example, in 1813 Major-General Glasgow reported to his superiors that he had converted drummer boys



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AL NEWS.

—From want of space, we
hold over Editorial and other
t issue.

-There was an alarm of fire
clock, from Box No. 15; but
alarm was a mistake.

s AND Waggons.—This morn-
k, will be sold at Champlain
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—The appointment to this
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—Mr. Mingeaud intends
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sions.—The Missionary Meet-
this evening in the Wesleyan
will commence at half-past
Addresses will be delivered
rs Smith, Stewart, Scott and
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Collection at the close in be-
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Esplanade.—The first fine day
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he splendid band of the 60th
Should the weather continue
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ain favor the citizens, by al-
l to perform once or twice a

CRICKET.

ROYAL ARTILLERY AND FIRST 60TH ROYAL RIFLES.

The first match of the season was played on the field adjoining the Skating Rink, by the members of the above Clubs on Saturday last, which resulted in favor of the Rifles by forty-three runs.

Owing to the lateness of the hour the second innings was not finished.

A return match comes off at the same place on Saturday next, at 11 a.m., when we trust the Royal Artillery will meet with better success. We give the score below.

SCORE

1st 60th Rifles.

Private Johnson bd Gomm	9
" Ling bd by Gomm	2
Corp. Gauntlett bd & ct by Gomm	33
Hon Keith Turnour bd by Monger	17
Mr. Toole bd by Gomm	2
Corp. Sullivan bd Monger	3
Private Welch not out	16
Corp. Joyce bd Monger ct Gomm	1
Private Welch bd Merritt	3
Private Drew bd by Gomm	5
Corp. Foster bd by Monger	1
Total	92
Byes	3
Wides	1
No Balls	1
Grand total	97
Overs	30

Royal Artillery,

Sergt. Pritchard bd by Turnour	22
Corp Birse bd by Turnour	1
Bomb. Gomm bd by Turnour	0
Sergt. Clare bd Sullivan ct Turnour	2
Gunr. Chester bd Sullivan ct Ling	13
" Merritt bd Sullivan	0
Bomb. Farrell bd and ct Turnour	1
Sergt. Allison bd Sullivan	0
Gunr. Monger bd Turnour	6
" Capel bd Turnour	0
" Ambrose not out	0
Total	45
Byes	5
Wides	0
No Balls	3
Grand total	53
Overs	29

Quebec Legislative Assembly,
selves to make every exertio
cure your return.

P. J. O. Chauve
Geo Irvine,
Thos McGreevy
Geo. H. Simard
Pierre Garneau,
John Ross,
Louis Amiot,
Wm. Miller,
and 1,600

REPLY.

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I take this as a sure proof
Citizens of Quebec Centre
representative in the Quebec

I therefore Gentlemen, acce
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Quebec and yours in part
serve them to the best of my

I remain,
Gentlemen,
Your most obedi
HECT

To Hon. P. J. O. Chauveau,
Hon. Geo. Irvine,
Hon. Thos. McGreevy,
Geo. H. Simard Esq.,
Pierre Garneau Esq.,
John Ross Esq,
Louis Amiot Esq.,
Wm. Miller, Esq., and oth

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Port of Quebec—$1598 22.

Newcastle-on-Tyne, 3

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Figure 8. Results of a cricket match between the non-commissioned officers and privates of the 1st Battalion, 60th Regiment of Foot and the non-commissioned officers and gunners of the Royal Artillery (*Morning Chronicle* [Quebec City], 16 May 1871).

into gunners and replaced them with the sons of members of the regiments.[66] When they reached the age of 18, soldiers' sons could in turn become gunners, on the recommendation of their commanding officer.

There are a number of instances of several sons from a single family serving with the Royal Regiment of Artillery, some of them expressing a desire to be in the same company. In 1842, for example, the Royal Artillery commander in Quebec City, Stephen Kirby, recommended that Bombardier John Magill be transferred to his brother's company.[67] In 1824 Major Chester asked that Sergeant Loggie's brother be transferred into his company, making much of the advantages of such a change:

> it will be a great Comfort for the Sergeant to have his Brother with him, and he is an excellent good non commissioned officer (...) it must be advantageous thing for the Brother, who I Understand is a Young Soldier.[68]

For some unknown reason Sergeant Loggie's younger brother did not accept the transfer.[69]

Requests of this kind were not restricted to transfers within the regiment. Some gunners asked that their brothers, belonging to other corps, be allowed to transfer to the artillery. In 1841, for instance, Bombardier William Taylor asked that his young brother James, age 18 and a trooper in the 13th Light Dragoons, be allowed to transfer to the Royal Regiment of Artillery.[70] That same year, Bombardier Peter McLish put in a similar request on behalf of his 20-year old brother, who had served for two years with the 72nd Regiment.[71] However, should the brother fail to meet the prescribed conditions, the request would be turned down. Peter Hemsley, of the 29th, was refused such permission on the grounds that he was only five feet, six and one-half inches in height.[72] These few examples suggest that having a brother serving in the Royal Regiment of Artillery could lead one to select that regiment over another.

Recruiting Methods

It would be a mistake to think that men would invariably be impressed into the service after being plied with drink or through a process of emptying jails. Such methods may indeed have been used by some recruiting sergeants in wartime, but they were not generally accepted practice.

Each battalion of the Royal Artillery had a small detachment of recruiters stationed in towns to look for volunteers. The story of Alexander Alexander, an 1801 recruit, is fairly typical example of an enlistment.[73] The recruiting sergeant for the regiment had waxed eloquent over the attractions of service in the corps: better pay and clothing, no long marches, little kit to carry, no flogging. The guileless young man succumbed to the sergeant's blandishments, complete with false promises of promotion. An 1845 recruiting poster announced the many advantages of service in the artillery:[74] a splendid uniform, first-rate housing, superior food, more leisure time during the training period. In addition much was made of opportunities for travel in parts of the world where wine was cheap, and again there were promises of promotion and high pay. There was further inducement in the form of a bounty which might vary between three and six pounds, depending on how badly recruits were needed. In Alexander's case the amount was five pounds five shillings,[75] from which, however, a number of deductions would be made: one to drink the sovereign's health, one for a medical examination and others as required.[76] Following the medical examination recruits proceeded to Woolwich by detachments.

Recruiting was not confined to the United Kingdom. Some recruits were enlisted in the colonies, including Canada. Letters of 1860 refer to two of these who deserted in Quebec City: Napoléon Soucy[77] and Thomas Allard.[78] As well, retired soldiers living in Canada could be re-enlisted in times of war, as in 1812.[79]

Conditions of Enlistment in the Royal Artillery

Enlistment was governed by three considerations: age, health and height. Requirements could be relaxed or made stricter, depending on the number of prospective recruits and the needs of the service.

As a rule the age of recruits for the British Army as a whole, including the Royal Regiment of Artillery, varied between 17 and 25. In 1845 recruiting was limited to men between 18 and 22, with a possible dispensation for seventeen-year-olds.[80] There was probably a broadening of the range during the Crimean War. In 1861 age requirements were altogether removed.[81]

Generally speaking, there was a minimum prescribed height for new recruits. Prospective gunners in the 18th century were refused admission into the corps if they measured less than five feet six inches,[82] though this rule obviously could not be applied to drummer boys. In 1840 the limit was raised to five feet eight inches for the artillery as well as for the rest of the army.[83] It was removed for the army in 1861[84] and lowered to five feet six inches for the artillery in 1863.[85] For the army in general the height requirement was lowered to five feet five inches in 1868 and to five feet four and one-half inches in 1870.[86] It follows that gunners were slightly taller than foot soldiers or troopers.

Recruits were subject to a medical examination, and those suffering from a generally poor state of health, muscular weakness, malformations, ulcers or venereal disease were turned down.[87] The medical officer would look for signs of corporal punishment and tattoos that identified deserters. In 1826, for the whole army, 1390 prospective recruits were rejected, for the following reasons: 155 for drunkenness, 138 for ulcers, 97 for venereal diseases and 170 for varicose veins.[88] Similar selection criteria certainly would have applied to the Royal Regiment of Artillery.

Career Profiles: Officers

An officer's career may be described as the record of his rise in the hierarchy of rank, followed by retirement.

Officers' *cursus honorum*

As noted promotion in the Royal Regiment of Artillery was granted on a strict basis of seniority. Table 14 provides five examples of such advancement: these officers having commanded the Royal Artillery in Quebec City at one time or another (Appendix B).

It is clear that the rate of promotion was very much dependent upon political and military developments. Thomas James, for example, rose quickly in rank at first because of the growth of the regiment during the War of the Austrian Succession (1740-48), though promotion came far more slowly thereafter. George Glasgow was appointed captain only after 19 years' service, since he had become a captain-lieutenant in time of peace. But after 1793, during the wars with France, he moved rapidly upwards, eventually becoming a major-general. James Pattison Cockburn obtained his captaincy after a mere 11 years' service during those wars, but his rise was far less rapid following the demobilizations of 1815 and later years. Daniel Thorndike was also a

Table 14. *Cursus honorum* of Five Officers of the Royal Regiment of Artillery[89]

	James	Glasgow	Cockburn	Thorndike	Chandler
Birth	C1724	C1757	1779	1794	1825
Cadet	1738	1771	1793	1809	
Lieut. Fireworker	1740				
2nd. Lieutenant	1743	1774	1795	1815	184
Lieutenant	1774	1779		1819	1845
Captain-Lieutenant	1746	1784	1803		
2nd. Captain				1835	185
Captain	1755	1793	1806	1842	1855
Brevet Major		1795		1846	1862
Major	1761	1800	1814		
Brev. Lt.-Col.		1800			
Lt.-Col.	1771	1801	1825	1850	1864
Brevet col.	1779			1854	1869
Colonel		1804	1837	1855	
Colonel Comm.	1780			1868	
Major-General		1811	1846	1864	
Lt.-Gen.		1819		1868	
General					
Retirement		1815			
Death	1782	1820	1849	1875	1871

victim of postwar slowdown, becoming a captain after a long wait of 27 years. After 1835 promotions were granted more regularly, allowing Chandler, for instance, to become a captain after only 12 years' service. There was a further quickening of the pace at the time of the Crimean War (1854-55). A reorganization of British army structures in 1855 and of those of the Royal Regiment of Artillery in 1859 made it possible for officers to obtain a senior rank in less time. So it was with Chandler, who became a lieutenant-colonel after only 21 years' service, while the other four had to wait between 27 and 35 years to reach that level.

As a rule promotion came more slowly for officers in the Royal Regiment of Artillery than for those in other regiments. In 1823 no more than four cavalry captains out of 186 and 80 infantry captains out of 981 were older than the youngest captain in the artillery.[90] If and when an artillery officer achieved the rank of lieutenant-colonel, it was usually at the age of retirement, so that very few could expect to become generals.[91] There was, however, some improvement in this respect halfway through the 19th century. For example, the average number of years of service of junior colonels varied from 36 in 1818 and 42 in 1838, to 48 in 1851 and 42 in 1855, gradually decreasing to 30 years in 1858.[92]

Retirement

Officers served for an unlimited period, though they were free to retire on pension at any time (save in wartime). The pension could be the equivalent of full pay or half pay, or an amount set by regulation. Full pay was granted to those officers who had distinguished themselves in wartime or had been disabled in active service. Half pay was awarded to those officers who had served a minimum prescribed number of years. Officers wishing to retire usually did so on grounds of ill health, as was the case, for instance, of Captain Edward Paterson in 1854.[93] Upon receipt of a report from a medical committee,[94] the lieutenant-general of ordnance authorized his retirement on half pay.[95]

After 1815 there was a surplus of artillery officers as a result of the demobilization of two battalions. The master general of ordnance thus decided to encourage early retirement, even going so far as to compel some officers to retire on half pay, promising that they would be able to rejoin the service should the need arise. This was the case of Major Caddy who, in 1817, was the youngest officer of that rank in his battalion.[96] Major Caddy was given the option of remaining in Canada or returning to England. In 1836, after 21 years of peace, 239 of the 406 lieutenant-colonels of the British Army were in retirement on half pay and six on full pay.[97] The military authorities, noting that there were no opportunities for promotion, suggested increasing the number of retirements on full pay, giving a pension of half pay, after 15 years' service, and allowing officers to sell their commissions to the government.[98] In 1836 Captain George Baker, R.A., who had retired in Canada on half pay, offered to sell his commission for £1800, feeling that he required such a sum to enable him to settle in Canada with his family.[99]

Subsequently pensions were to be increasingly replaced with grants made to officers wishing to establish themselves in the colony. A General Order of 1842 fixed the amounts of such grants,[100] these varying between £100 for officers with seven years' service and £300 for those with 25. In 1854, for instance, Captain Edward Paterson of the Royal Artillery applied for such a grant in lieu of retirement on half pay, for the purpose of settling in Canada.[101] Landless officers were thereby provided with an opportunity to acquire holdings in a colony, while at the same time the government was freed of the obligation of paying some of the pensions. On the other hand, those officers who already owned land in Britain continued to receive a pension.

Career Profiles: Non-Commissioned Officers and Privates

A soldier who belonged to the Royal Artillery was neither assured of promotion nor free to leave the service when he wished.

Length of Service

In the 18th Century enlistment in the British army for soldiers was for life. A limited term of service was introduced in 1799.[102] In 1813 the "time-expired man" was allowed to re-enlist either for an indefinite period or for a further term of seven years.[103] This general rule also applied to the Royal Regiment of Artillery. In 1814, out of the 1,191 men of the regiment then serving in Canada, 304, or 26 per cent, had enlisted for a limited term. Only one of the 29 sergeants, on the other hand, was in that position.[104] During the postwar period all those who had enlisted for a limited term were released.

From 1829 to 1847 enlistment in the Royal Regiment of Artillery was once again for an unlimited period.[105] In 1847 all recruits in the British army, including those in the Royal Artillery, were required to sign up for an initial 12 years of service, to be followed by a further 12 years if they felt so inclined.[106] In due course this second term was reduced to nine years for the artillery.[107] In 1860 the initial period of enlistment was fixed at ten years for troopers, gunners and sappers, the same privilege being extended to foot soldiers in 1867.[108] It was hoped thereby to attract a greater number of recruits. In addition it was realized that relatively young men made the best soldiers.

Opportunities for Promotion

While an opportunity for promotion to the rank of non-commissioned officers was indeed promised to new recruits, in fact such opportunities were very limited. Using our calculations for the strength of the troops,[109] 20 per cent of all privates would become non-commissioned officers, one-half of the latter eventually rising to the rank of sergeant. Seniority was no guarantee of promotion, some men serving 20 years under the colours as privates. Regulations stated that promotion to non-commissioned officer rank "is not to be governed by seniority unless coupled with merit."[110] In 1831, for example, Captain Dowse's company in Kingston required a bombardier, but Captain Cockburn felt that no one should be promoted from within that unit, whose desertion rate was the highest of all.[111] In 1850, when a sergeant-major was needed in the 7th Battalion, the commander of the Royal Artillery recommended Sergeant David Cochran for promotion, on the strength of the glowing reports of that non-commissioned officer's conduct from his superiors in Quebec City.[112]

The number of years elapsing between promotions appears to vary from individual to individual. Table 15 records the *cursus honorum* of three non-commissioned officers who served during the Napoleonic Wars.

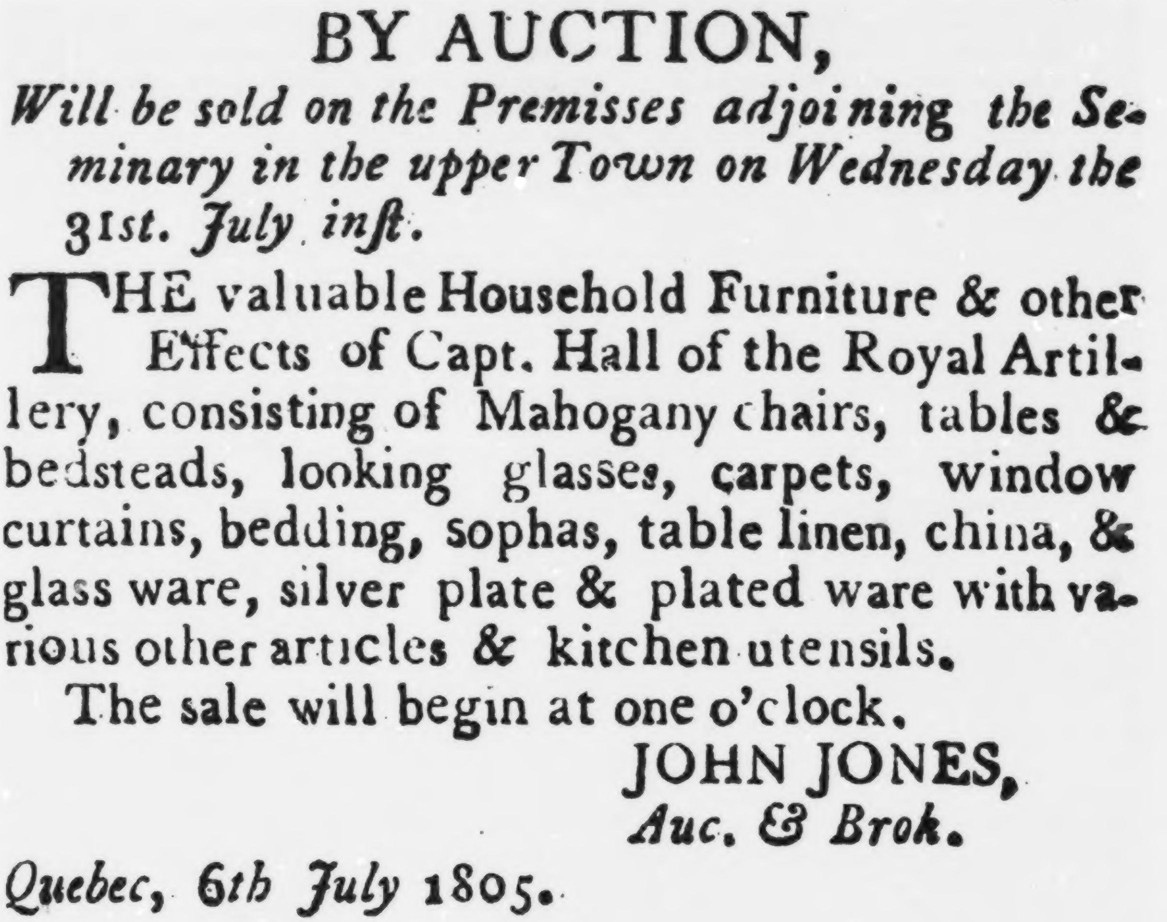
Two of the men did not obtain the rank of sergeant until after 20 years' service, that is, at a fairly advanced age. Jocelyn has stated that around 1854 no sergeant had had less than six years' service, most of these senior non-commissioned officers having more than ten.[114] The term of enlistment being 12 years, this promotion obviously came rather late.

Table 15. *Cursus honorum* of Non-Commissioned Officers of the Royal Regiment of Artillery[113]

	Dalton	Von Koune	Hay
Gunner	1784	1788	1790
Bombardier	1798	1794	1808
Corporal	1806	1801	
Sergeant	1808	1808	
Retired	1811	1811	1811

Retirement

Retirement from the service varied depending on whether enlistment had been for an indefinite or a limited period. In the former case, men could be declared unfit for further service and discharged. Invalidity could be based on various grounds: wounds sustained in active service, injury suffered at work, illness or, more simply, age. Gunner John Hardie, a man of more than 30 years' service, applied for release claiming that he was "worn out."[115] After 20 years under the colours soldiers were considered old men. Colonel Philpott wrote in 1821: "We have a great many old men from 21 to 23 years service."[116] After 1815 a pension of one shilling *per diem* was awarded to men of 21 years' service, with an extra halfpenny for each extra year.[117]



BY AUCTION,

Will be sold on the Premisses adjoining the Seminary in the upper Town on Wednesday the 31st. July inſt.

THE valuable Household Furniture & other Effects of Capt. Hall of the Royal Artillery, consisting of Mahogany chairs, tables & bedsteads, looking glasses, carpets, window curtains, bedding, sophas, table linen, china, & glass ware, silver plate & plated ware with various other articles & kitchen utensils.

The sale will begin at one o'clock.

JOHN JONES,
Auc. & Brok.

Quebec, 6th July 1805.

Figure 9. Sale of household effects on the occasion of the departure of an officer of the Royal Regiment of Artillery (*Quebec Mercury*, 6 July 1805).

Further provision was made for a pension of 5 pence for those who had served from 7-14 years.[118] Following the end of the demobilization period in 1820, release was to become more difficult. While a pension could be granted after 21 years' service, the soldier had to be declared unfit for further military duty.[119] Soldiers with less service could obtain their discharge upon payment of a prescribed amount: £30 in the case of less than seven years' service, £25 thereafter.[120] Provision was made for reduction of these amounts in the case of distinguished conduct.[121] After the fifties, grants were made to soldiers wishing to settle in Canada providing that they had a sufficient length of service. Gunner Thomas Salt, for instance, was awarded £14 on condition that he settle in this country.[122]

Another method used to allow men of the regiment to secure their release was the obtaining of civilian employment. This particular option seems, however, to have been open mainly to sergeants. In 1844, for example, four sergeants of the regiment were felt to be eligible for employment as lockmasters on the Rideau Canal.[123] In 1846 Sergeant Pope was appointed foreman at the Ordnance Office.[124]

Pay

The gap between the living standards of an officer and a soldier is reflected in the pay scales, as shown in Table 16. A junior officer was paid four or five times more than a gunner, the gap widening as the officer was promoted. A colonel earned ten times what was paid a sergeant-major, and an officer retiring on half pay received a great deal more than a retired sergeant.

Looking at changes in the rates of pay over the years, we see that

Table 16. Daily Rates of pay in the Royal Regiment of Artillery, by Rank[125]

	1763			1797			1814			1849			1870		
	£.	s.	d.*	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d
Col. in Chief	2	4	0	2	4	0	2	14	9½	2	14	11½	2	14	6
Colonel				1	4	0	1	6	0	1	6	3	1	6	0
Lt.-Col.	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	18	1	0	18	1	0	17	1
Major	0	15	0	0	15	0	0	16	11						
Captain	0	10	0	0	10	0	0	11	1	0	12	2	0	12	1
2nd Captain	0	6	0	0	7	0	0	11	1	0	11	1	0	11	0
Lieut.	0	6	0	0	6	0	0	6	10	0	6	10	0	7	10
2nd Lieut.	0	4	0	0	5	0	0	5	7	0	5	7	0	5	7
Lt. Firew.	1	3	8												
Cadet	0	1	4	0	2	6	0	2	6	0	2	6			
Sergeant-Maj.				0	3	2	0	4	1¼	0	4	1¼	0	4	5¼
Sergeant	0	1	7¾	0	2	2	0	2	5¼	0	2	8	0	3	0
Corporal	0	1	6½	0	2	0¼	0	2	2	0	2	2	0	2	4
Bombardier	0	1	4½	0	1	10¼	0	2	0	0	2	0	0	2	2
1st Gunner	0	1	1¼	0	1	7	0	1	7						
Gunner				0	1	3¼	0	1	3¼	0	1	3¼	0	1	5¼
Matrons	0	0	9½												
Drummer	0	0	9½	0	1	3¼	0	1	3¼	0	1	3¼	0	1	5¼
Surgeon	0	4	0	0	12	0	0	11	4	0	13	0	1	0	0
Asst. Surgeon				0	10	0	0	7	6	0	7	6	0	15	0
Surgeon's Mate	0	3	6												

* Twenty shilling(s) or 240 pence(d) to the pound.

there were relatively greater increases in the pay of the lower ranks than in that of the higher ranks. In 1797 the gunner's pay was increased 60 per cent, whereas that of the sergeant rose by 30 per cent and that of the senior officers remained unchanged. On the other hand, a gunner's pay was to remain at the same level until the sixties, while there were increases in all other categories. In 1870 there was a slight decrease in the pay of captains, against an increase for the others. In the period 1763-1870 the gunner's pay rose by seven and three-quarter pence, an increase of 80 per cent. There was an increase of nine and one-half pence for corporals and bombardiers, or approximately 60 per cent. Sergeants enjoyed an increase of one shilling, four and one-quarter pence, or 80 per cent. As far as officers were concerned, there was a reduction in pay for lieutenant-colonels and a two-shilling or 20 per cent increase for captains. In spite of these adjustments, however, the gap remained considerable.

It is clear that a career in the Royal Regiment of Artillery enabled officers to enjoy a high social standing. For those from the middle class it provided an opportunity to acquire land in the colonies. As for soldiers, while it did give them work in periods of unemployment, a military career left them with a minute pension as compensation for the loss of their health.

MILITARY DUTIES AND ACTIVITIES

The members of the Regiment of Royal Artillery had a wide variety of duties assigned to them, both individually and collectively. The officers and non-commissioned officers had specific administrative responsibilities concerning, on the one hand, the exercise of command and the administration of the property of the companies in Quebec City and, on the other, participation in military administrative bodies outside the regiment. As a group, gunners had their share of the military duties related to garrison life in Quebec City, to which were added other duties particular to the artillery. In wartime they were required to defend the fortifications by firing their guns at the enemy. In peacetime they were involved in training exercises and in the maintenance of equipment. Artillerymen also performed work outside their normal military tasks, providing them with an opportunity to add to their pay.

Regimental Administrative Duties

The Commander

The senior administrative officer of the regiment in Quebec City was of course the commander. Between 1759 and 1782 he was in command of the artillery for the Province of Quebec district. After 1782 and until 1838 he was in charge of all Royal Artillery troops in Canada, and for the District of Quebec from 1838 to 1871.

The commanding officer supervised the entire administration of the regiment and was responsible for ensuring that everyone under him performed their duties. Regimental regulations directed that the officer commanding a post was to ensure the proper dispatch to the authorities concerned of such things as strength returns, pay lists, clothing returns and so on.[1] He was called upon to ensure that strength returns were made out in proper form.[2] He was present at the public administration of punishment or at the departure of detachments of his regiment.[3] He was responsible for the proper execution of the work performed by men under his command. Should an officer, for instance, depart from Quebec leaving his quarters in a damaged condition, and should it be demonstrated that his commanding officer had not carried out the inspection required by the regulations, the latter was made liable for such damages.[4] His duties involved inspections of various kinds. Every month he was required to check the men's account books and examine the supplies issued them, so as to ensure that they had been provided goods of proper quality at the agreed prices.[5] He might even have to check the quality of the rations.[6]

The commanding officer was in addition obliged to draft large numbers of reports. Every month he would forward an inspection report on the men's accounts.[7] Whenever a detachment embarked for England he would draw up a list of the men leaving.[8] After 1828 he was required to submit, twice yearly, a confidential report on the abilities, attention to duty and general conduct of all officers under his command.[9] In addition, every six months he was expected to draft a report of courts-martial, and every three months a list of the names of those men who had been guilty of offences not requiring reference to a court-martial as well as a report on those employed in quasi-military duties.[10] The list of reports appears to have lengthened considerably after 1859, and numbered, printed War Office forms came into use. The requisitions for forms forwarded by the commanding officer give some idea of the various matters involved. There were forms for applications for married quarters, for describing the records of service of men applying for discharge,[11] for applications for leave, for quarterly reports on soldiers in custody, for daily strength musters,[12] for nominal rolls of deserters,[13] for monthly reports on schools and for quarterly reports on recreation rooms.[14] All these reports were forwarded to the adjutant-general of the regiment in Woolwich. However, starting in 1838 the reports of the Quebec district commander were submitted to the regimental commander in Canada, resident in Montreal, who would incorporate them into those that he, in turn, sent on to Woolwich.

Finally, the commanding officer was empowered to grant leave, appoint non-commissioned officers and make emergency decisions, though these had to be confirmed by tne master general of ordnance. Some of his responsibilities could be delegated to officers of lower rank.

The Captain

His duties were similar to those of the commander, but at the company level. In Quebec City each company had a captain or second captain in command. It was the captain's responsibility to be personally acquainted with all those who served under him and to maintain a record of their conduct.[15] He was also required to approve soldiers' requests before these were forwarded to the commander's office. Starting in 1862, one captain in every brigade was assigned the responsibility of a paymaster, which had previously been entrusted to a civilian.[16] It was up to this officer to draw up pay lists for all the soldiers of the brigade, though this process might involve considerable delays when companies were scattered from Ontario to Newfoundland.[17]

The Adjutant and Quartermaster

These two responsibilities have been put under one heading, since as a general rule they were entrusted to a single officer with the rank of lieutenant. An 1805 regulation prescribed that when there were two Royal Artillery companies in the same garrison, a single officer could perform both functions; but in the event there were more than two, they would be divided between two officers.[18] The officer or officers involved received an extra allowance of three shillings *per diem*.[19] The selection of the adjutant and quartermaster was the responsibility of the Royal Artillery commander who could, if he so wished, designate his own son. In this way John Henry Cockburn was appointed by his father, James Pattison, to these positions between 1829 and 1832.[20]

The adjutant was primarily responsible for discipline and garrison duties. He attended all exercises and reported to his commanding officer.[21] In the event that one of his men was brought before a court-martial, he could be called upon to attend the hearing and answer questions on the general conduct of the accused.[22] It was the responsibility of the adjutant to maintain the record of garrison orders, read them over periodically and communicate them to newly arrived officers.[23] He was also required to provide the list of items of general issue and record it in the company's books of account, indicating the normal value of such goods.[24] He also was responsible for informing the quartermaster of the arrival of new drafts and, with him, attended the embarkation of troops.[25]

It was the quartermaster's responsibility to prepare the barracks and officers' quarters for the arrival of new occupants. He inspected the officers' quarters when these were vacated, to ensure that they had been left in proper order.[26] He checked the condition of clothing and equipment issued to soldiers from military stores.[27] He prepared inventories of items to be kept in the barracks, officers' quarters and officers' mess,[28] and was required to accompany the garrison barrack master on his inspection tours.[29]

Medical Officers

Until 1801 medical officers - surgeons - were directly attached to the Royal Regiment of Artillery. After that date they came under the Medical Establishment for the Military and Civil Departments of the Ordnance.[30] This meant that they were required to attend not only the members of the Royal Regiment of Artillery but the civil employees of the Ordnance Department as well. For the greater part of the period, artillery companies in Quebec City were provided with a medical officer having the rank of surgeon who, if necessary, assisted his colleagues in other regiments.[31] However, when there was no artillery surgeon in Quebec City, gunners were cared for by the infantry surgeons garrisoned in the town.[32]

It was the medical officer's responsibility to supervise the administration of hospital wards for the regiment's sick, seeing to the care given to patients, their diet, and the cleanliness of the premises and equipment.[33] He provided the commanding officer with a daily report of the condition of the patients.[34] He attended parades and watched the administration of corporal punishment.[35] He received soldiers' wives and children daily for consultations, at an appointed time.[36] He examined soldiers unfit for duty and prepared certificates making them eligible for retirement on pension. He could recommend a change of climate when this appeared necessary to the patient's health. For instance, in 1820 Surgeon Lloyd noted that the Canadian climate adversely affected men suffering from certain ailments, who thus required very frequent hospital treatment.[37] He therefore suggested that they be posted to a country with a better climate. In addition medical officers could advise on sanitary conditions in barracks.

Non-Commissioned Officers

Their duties involved commanding the troops and some minor administrative duties. The commanding officer assigned a non-commissioned officer to each room in the barracks, to be responsible for the men quartered there.[38] In 1851, for example, Bombardiers McDonald and Buller were in charge of rooms five and nine of the artillery barracks in Quebec City.[39] It was up to the non-commissioned officer to ensure that men had in their possession only regulation items and clothing.[40] It was also his responsibility to report soldiers who were sick.[41]

Sergeants were the officers' assistants. At the top of the scale stood the quartermaster-sergeant and the sergeant-major. Originally these duties devolved on a single non-commissioned officer, but after 1838 it was decided that they should be discharged by two men.[42] The quartermaster-sergeant assisted the quartermaster, while the sergeant-major was attached to the adjutant and helped with disciplinary matters and military exercises.[43] The pay sergeant was the paymaster's assistant with regard to the issuing of pay and military effects.[44] The use of non-commissioned officers as clerks probably began in 1828, when Colonel Cockburn requested permission from his superiors to pay non-commissioned officers in Quebec City and Kingston as clerical assistants to the adjutant.[45] This request was approved.[46] Subsequently the number of non-commissioned officer clerks increased or decreased as the strength of the unit varied.

From 1859 on, owing to increased paperwork, the number of non-commissioned officers assigned to administrative duties rose. in 1859 a Clerk Class 3 was employed in the artillery offices in Montreal, Quebec City and Halifax[47] to do secretarial work for the artillery commanders. In 1862 the administrative personnel in Quebec City included one sergeant-major, a Clerk Class 3, an armourer sergeant and a hospital sergeant. In addition the artillery commander attempted to obtain a position of provost-sergeant[48] to oversee the maintenance of cells, look after prisoners and serve as barracks' police.[49]

Administrative Duties Outside the Regiment

These various duties were reserved for officers alone.

Headquarters Staff

Like officers of the other regiments, Royal Artillery officers could be assigned officer duties at headquarters. In 1851, for example, Major Rowan was given permission to serve as military secretary to his uncle, the commander-in-chief for Canada.[50] This was again the case in 1860, when Captain De Winton was appointed aide-de-camp to the commander-in-chief.[51] However, the master general of ordnance reserved the right to refuse the posting of officers to such employment. This happened in the case of Captain Shuttleworth, who was refused permission to serve as aide-de-camp to Major-General Armstrong in 1845.[52]

Committee Work

In the British army there were two main kinds of committees: courts-martial and courts of inquiry. Courts-martial were themselves of three types, depending on the seriousness of the offence: general, garrison or regimental. General courts-martial were composed of 13 officers and were competent to deal with the most serious offences involving officers. Garrison courts-martial were composed of officers of various regiments, and three to five officers of a single regiment sat on regimental courts-martial.[53] Artillery officers could sit on these bodies after having attended all the hearings of the courts-martial held in their garrison over a three-month period. They were required to acquaint themselves with military law, orders and regulations.[54]

Courts of inquiry were made up of officers of one regiment or more. For example, in 1863 a court of inquiry made up of a member of the 60th Regiment, the ordnance storekeeper and Lieutenant Davies, the artillery quartermaster, was constituted to inspect damaged greatcoats. They found that these had been eaten by moths.[55] In 1842 the officer commanding the artillery in Canada chaired a court of inquiry set up to investigate the waste of firewood in various garrisons.[56] Service on these committees provided officers with some extra income.

Militia Supervision

Some members of the Royal Regiment of Artillery were charged with supervising the militia and giving basic training to selected militiamen in the handling of guns. In 1815, for instance, the quartermaster of the regiment was appointed to a committee of inspection of militia equipment.[57] In 1854 the reduction in the strength of the Royal Artillery in Canada led to the formation of a number of detachments of Canadian artillery, which the artillery commander was requested to supervise. Thus in 1856 Colonel Bell proceeded to inspect the Volunteer Militia Field Batteries in Ottawa, Toronto, Hamilton, Kingston and Quebec City.[58] In 1861, at the time of the Trent incident, two officers of the Royal Regiment of Artillery, assisted by four sergeants, were charged with organizing militia artillery against the possibility of an attack by the Americans.[59] In peacetime the periodical exercises of militia artillery were supervised by regular artillery non-commissioned officers. For example, in 1862 Sergeant Walsh was appointed drill instructor for the militia artillery battery in Quebec City.[60] When it was decided to reduce the strength of the Royal Regiment of Artillery in 1869, as part of the eventual withdrawal of British troops from Quebec and Ontario, Royal Artillery officers were charged with the supervision of Canadian artillery batteries.[61] This assistance to Canada was moreover to continue even after the withdrawal of British troops. In 1871, Captain Thomas B. Strange, R.A., was appointed to command an artillery school in Quebec City.[62] The following year 12 former sergeants of the regiment arrived in Canada to serve as instructors in the artillery schools of Quebec City and Kingston.[63]

Grosse Isle

In 1832 a detachment of artillerymen with two guns was posted to Grosse Isle, designated as a quarantine station for Quebec-bound immigrants.[64] Subsequently that station, open during the summer, was placed under the command of British officers, including some members of the Royal Regiment of Artillery. Captain Jackson, R.A., was the commander at Grosse Isle in 1836.[65] Captain Franklyn was officer commanding in 1852 with a detachment of infantry and five gunners.[66] He was in receipt of an allowance of one pound *per diem* from the government of the province. In 1855 the lieutenant-general of Ordnance authorized the dispatch to Grosse isle of Lieutenant Noble, accompanied by one non-commissioned officer and five privates of the Royal Regiment of Artillery.[67] The officer had general responsibility for the administration of the station, whereas the artillerymen looked after the guns.

Garrison Duties and Activities

Officers of the Day

These were selected by turns from the officers of the garrison. The name of the appointees for the following day appeared in the daily Garrison Order: a field officer, a captain and an adjutant.[68] The names of the officers of the Royal Regiment of Artillery were included in the garrison roster, with an indication of when they could expect to be called upon to discharge these duties. However, the officer commanding the artillery could be excused by the district commanding officer if he was busy with other professional duties.[69] On certain occasions, for example, a general inspection of the infantry, the officers of the Royal Regiment of Artillery were expected to discharge all the garrison duties along with their men.[70]

On the basis of the Garrison Orders for 1815[71] (Table 17), it would appear that the frequency of the designation of any regimental officer as officer of the day varied according to the strength of the Quebec garrison. From the April 22 to the June 6 the name of Major Caddy, R.A., appeared on the list of field officers of the garrison. Until the end of May he served as field officer of the day at intervals of approximately eight days, though he missed his turn on two occasions. Following the departure of two infantry regiments, he was to serve in this capacity every four or five days. In mid-July Lieutenant-Colonel Phillott's name was added to the list of garrison officers, which explains the increased number of artillery officers selected as officers of the day. As the number of infantry regiments increased, Caddy and Phillott were officers of the day every eight days or so. The number of lieutenants and captains of the day from the Royal Regiment of Artillery rose as a result of the departure of two infantry regiments. Between about April 21 and June 2 ten per cent of the lieutenants and captains of the day were from the artillery. Between June 3 and June 27, this proportion rose to 30 per cent. After June 28, on the other hand, no Royal Artillery lieutenants or captains were selected for such duties, probably owing to the considerable drop in the strength of the regiment (Table 5). However designation as adjutant of the day fell to the adjutant of the Royal Regiment of Artillery more often since there was but one adjutant in every regiment. In April and May he took turns with

Table 17. Number of Officers of the Royal Regiment of Artillery Serving as Officers of the Day in the Quebec Garrison; April 22 to August 22, 1815

Date*	Field Officer	Captain	Lieutenant	Adjutant	Number of Regiments**
April 21-27	1	0	1	1	4
Apr. 18-May 4	1	1	0	1	4
May 5-11	0	0	1	1	4
May 12-17	1	1	0	1	4
May 22-27	0	2	0	1	4
May 29-June 4	1	0	0	1	4
June 5-11	2	2	2	2	2
June 12-18	1	4	1	2	2
June 19-25	2	3	3	1	2
June 26-July 2	1	0	1	1	3
July 3-9	2	0	0	2	3
July 10-16	2	0	0	3	3
July 17-23	1	0	0	1	4
July 24-30	2	0	0	2	4
July 31-Aug. 6	2	0	0	2	4
Aug. 7-14	2	0	0	3	4
Aug. 15-22	2	0	0	2	4

* As far as possible we have selected seven-day periods.
** Number of infantry regiments.

his counterparts in the four infantry regiments and a fifth designated from among officers of detachments belonging to other infantry regiments serving in Canada. His turn would therefore come every six days. From June on he served in that capacity every four days and at various intervals later on, according to the number of adjutants in the city.

The field officer of the day had to supervise all the work of the garrison for that particular day, and in particular guard duties in town. He was required to attend the changing of the guard in the morning, check the deportment of officers and visit sentry posts. He received the reports of the other officers of the day and in turn reported to the garrison governor after the changing of the guard the following day.[72] In case of emergency he took command of a group of soldiers formed as a picket for the occasion. The captain of the day assisted the field officer, sharing with him the supervision of the guards. He called on the hospital at one o'clock and received reports from the surgeon and from the subaltern of the day, as well as from the lieutenants of the various regiments who had presided over the roll-call and patrolled the town after curfew. He then transmitted his report to the field officer of the day.[73] The lieutenant of the day inspected the barracks at noon to check the cleanliness and proper placement of clothing, bedding and haversacks. At one o'clock he called at the hospital and reported to the captain. He attended parades and called the evening roll.[74] The adjutant of the day attended the changing of the guard and assisted the town-major[75] at the turning out of the guard by ordering men to their various posts.[76]

Town Guard Duties

This consisted in posting detachments in the main military areas of the city. From these detachments were drawn the sentries who relieved each other every two hours, or every hour in inclement weather.[77] Normally one such detail of six men would provide two sentries at once. The changing of the guard generally took place at 10 A.M.[78] In Quebec City guards patrolled the Citadel, the gates, the military stores and the garrison hospital. Guards were selected from the various regiments of the garrison as well as from the artillery companies. In February 1858, for example, the 80 men on guard duty included one gunner at the Citadel, one at each of the Hope, Saint-Louis and Prescott gates, and seven at the artillery barracks.[79] The presence of a gunner at the various gates was required because of the necessity of having someone acquainted with guns to share in the patrol of the fortifications. In 1848, for instance, the gunner on guard duty at the Prescott gate discovered that four of the guns of the Wolfe battery had been spiked.[80] He then removed the nails from the openings and caused the guard to be strengthened.

Garrison Orders for 1815[81] indicate that from 130 to 170 men were required for guard details in the town, the Royal Regiment of Artillery providing its share of them. It also shows, however, that no gunner was called upon to perform emergency picket duty, or take part in escorts or patrols. Table 18, prepared on the basis of Garrison Orders, indicates the variations in the number of artillerymen on guard detail.

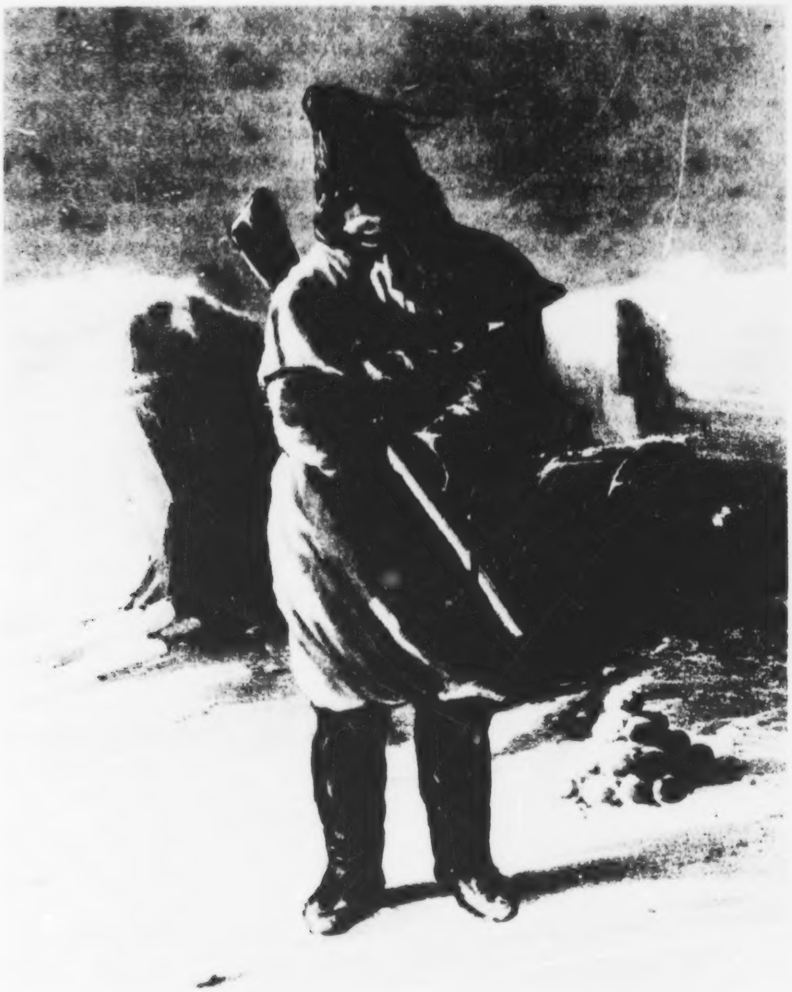


Figure 10. Guard duty in cold weather. (Public Archives of Canada.)

The number of gunners participating in such details increased after May 11, following an increase in the strength of the artillery companies. There was a further increase on the 26th of that month following the departure of two infantry regiments. On July 17 the numbers were reduced as a consequence of the departure of more than 150 artillerymen and the arrival of two new infantry regiments. It can therefore be stated that artillery participation in town guard details was proportionate to the strength of the regiment.

Ceremonies, Inspections, Parades

Artillery companies took part in the various military or religious ceremonies involving the garrison.[82] On the sovereign's birthday,

Table 18. Number of Men of the Royal Regiment of Artillery Detailed for Guard Duty in the Quebec Garrison, April 22-August 22, 1815

Date*	Lieut.	Sergeant	Corp.	Gnr.	Total	No. of** Regiments	No. of*** of Soldiers
Apr. 21-29	0	1	1	11	13	4	175
Apr. 30-May 10	0	1	1	14	16	4	
May 11-25	0	2	1	20	24	4	
May 26-29	0	5	5	38	48	2	319
May 30-June 6	0	1	1	14	16	2	
June 7-17	1	2	3	29	35	2	
June 18	1	6	7	54	68	2	
June 19	1	2	3	30	36	2	
June 20-27	1	4	5	40	50	2	256
June 28	0	1	7	14	22	2	
June 29	0	1	1	14	16	2	
June 30-July 2	0	1	1	8	10	2	
July 3	0	3	3	23	29	2	
July 4-10	0	4	4	29	37	2	
July 11	0	1	1	8	10	2	
July 12-16	0	4	4	29	37	2	
July 17-21	0	2	2	17	21	4	
July 22-Aug. 6	0	1	1	8	10	4	
Aug. 11-22	0	0	0	2	2	4	81

* The dates on which the number of artillerymen on guard duties was similar have been considered together.

** Infantry regiments.

*** Members of the Royal Regiment of Artillery.

the anniversaries of great victories or the arrival of important dignitaries they were required to perform the prescribed gun salutes.

Inspections could involve the entire garrison or a single regiment. The official garrison inspections, presided over by the commander-in-chief, were generally held twice a year[83] and included the execution of manoeuvres. The officer commanding the artillery in Canada also inspected the companies of his regiment in Quebec City. In 1850, for instance, Colonel Dynely carried out his annual inspection, requiring the troops to march past "in heavy marching order, under arms."[84]

The parade was the usual official way of moving men about in groups. When a detail was sent out for some duty or other, it was paraded to the place of work.[85] The changing of the guard was a parade. In addition there were large ceremonial parades involving the entire garrison. In these parades the Royal Regiment of Artillery took precedence over the infantry regiments, though not over the Guards or the cavalry. This meant that when there were no Guards or cavalry regiments in Quebec City, the Royal Regiment of Artillery was at the head of the parade. At military funerals the artillery paraded behind the infantry, just forward of the dignitaries and the gun carriage bearing the hearse.[86] It was this precedence which had afforded the men of the Royal Artillery the honour of being the first to enter Quebec City after its capture on September 18, 1759.[87]

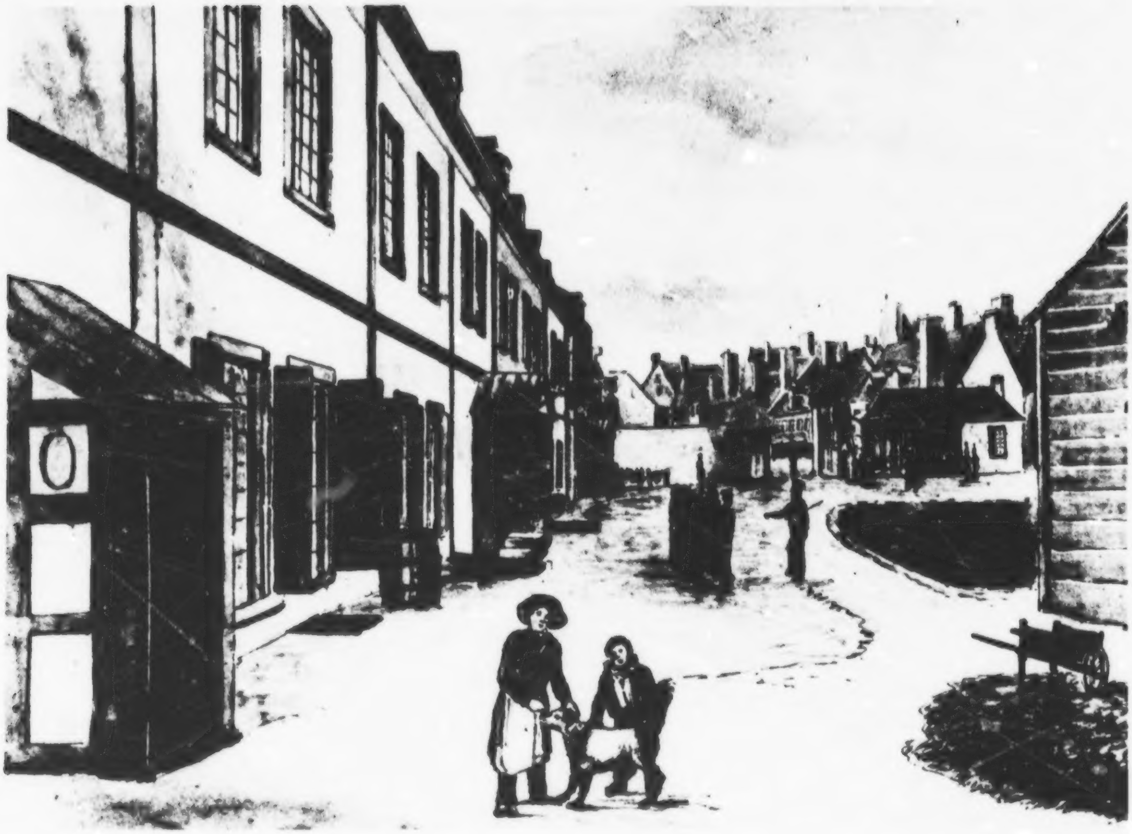


Figure 11. Drills in the artillery barracks square ca. 1829. (Drawing by J.P. Cockburn, Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto.)

Infantry Drills

In addition to gun drill, which will be referred to later, gunners were required to be proficient in infantry drill. This was carried out under the direction of the sergeant-major and the general supervision of the regimental adjutant. An artillery training manual[88] indicates that drill involved arms drill and various movements by company or batallion - forming into columns, changing directions, forming into squares and so on. The main purpose of these drills was to maintain discipline and ensure the uniformity of manoeuvres when the Royal Regiment of Artillery companies had to move with other units.

Professional Responsibilities and Duties

Guarding and Maintaining Guns

This was mainly the responsibility of the officer commanding the artillery in Quebec City. He was responsible for the guns, gun carriages and ammunition issued to him by the Ordnance storekeeper.[89] In consequence he was responsible for all guns mounted on the fortifications or ready to be so mounted. In addition the commander was expected to be able to account for all equipment in his care and supervise the inventories performed by the storekeeper. He was also required to forecast future requirements and put in the necessary requisitions. Even though powder magazines were the responsibility of the civilian employees of the Ordnance, the commander was to inspect them and have the powder kegs examined at least once a year.[90]

The guns to be supervised in Quebec included those of the town, those mounted on the fortifications and, in the 19th century, those of the Citadel and the Martello towers. For purposes of maintenance and supervision the town was divided into a number of districts, each being a captain's or, if necessary, a lieutenant's responsibility. The captains could in turn divide this task among their subalterns.[91] For example, in 1811 Colonel Glasgow divided the town of Quebec into three districts and assigned them to the captains of the three companies garrisoned there.[92] The district captain maintained an inventory of all equipment for which he was responsible.

He was required to visit his district at least once a week and ensure that his subalterns carried out inspections twice every week.[93] During these inspections the officer checked to ensure that the munitions were ready for immediate use and that the guns and carriages were in serviceable condition. The captain drafted a weekly report, his commanding officer putting in the proper requisitions to the Department of the Royal Engineers should any repairs to batteries appear necessary. A garrison gunner was appointed from among the non-commissioned officers to serve as an intermediary, under the adjutant's supervision, for the reception and provision of guns and munitions between the Ordnance storekeeper and the captains in charge of the districts.[94] It was also his duty to organize ceremonial gun salutes and pick up the reports of guards and district officers. The district captains appointed a district gunner from among their own non-commissioned officers to assist them in their tours of inspection and supervise any work involving munition stores.[95]

Following the reorganization of the regiment in 1859, further responsibilities were created related to the maintenance of weapons. An officer styled "Inspector of Warlike Stores" was appointed to inspect all weapons issued to the garrison, and the position was filled by an artillery captain.[96] At the non-commissioned officer level an armourer-sergeant was created whose responsibility it was, among other things, to inscribe markings on the weapons issued to the men of the various batteries.[97]

Added to these military duties of an individual nature were those peculiar to the Royal Regiment of Artillery: transporting guns,

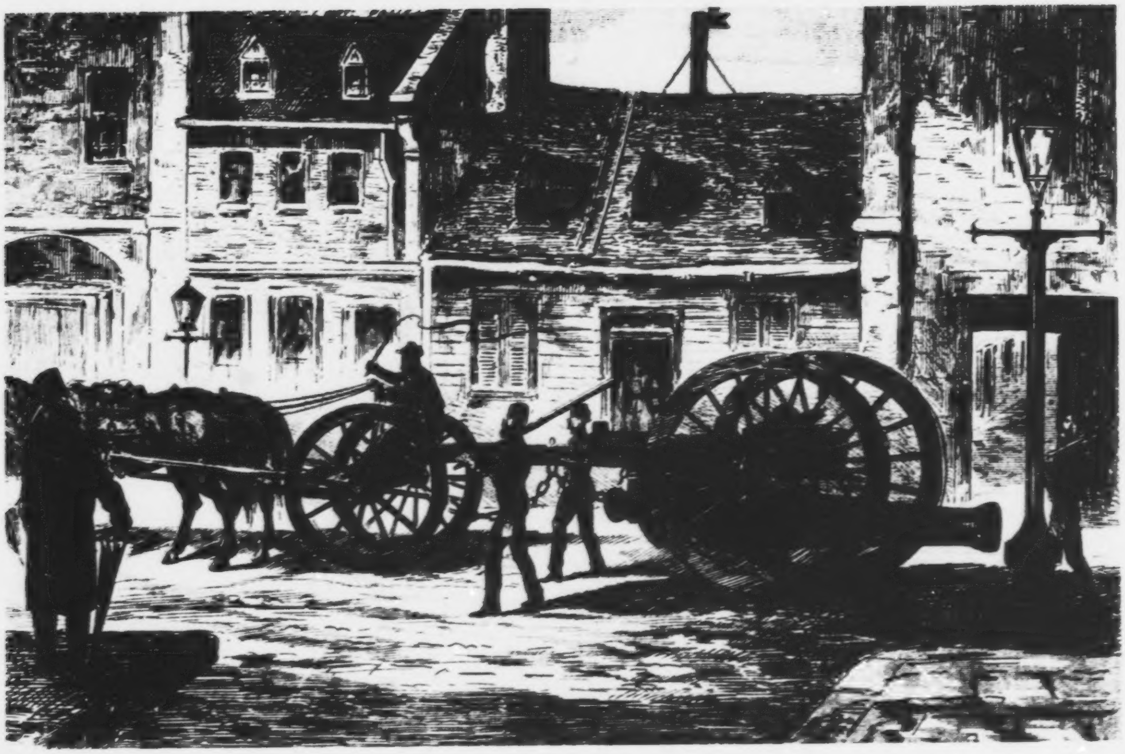


Figure 12. Transportation of a gun through the Lower Town of Quebec. (*Canadian Illustrated News*, Vol. IV, November 18th, 1871, p. 324.)

limbering and unlimbering, sponging out unused guns once a month,[98] airing munitions and replacing them afterwards.[99] All these were part of the normal responsibilities of the regiment.

Gunnery Drills

A knowledge of all gunnery drills and exercises was required of Royal Artillery officers. The 1868 regulations provide a list of those things which a lieutenant was expected to know before promotion to captain:[100] field artillery, heavy artillery and mortar drills; firing of rockets; firing of heated missiles and transportation of guns. An officer was required to know about munitions and their use and composition, as well as be familiar with artillery terms. Knowledge of a similar nature was required of non-commissioned officers. In an 1808 manual for non-commissioned officers[101] there is an explanation of the use of spherical hollow shells, invented by a Lieutenant Shrapnell, which had just been adopted by the British army. Subsequently gunners had to familiarize themselves with this new type of projectile during the exercises.

Drills appear to have taken place in winter as well as in summer,

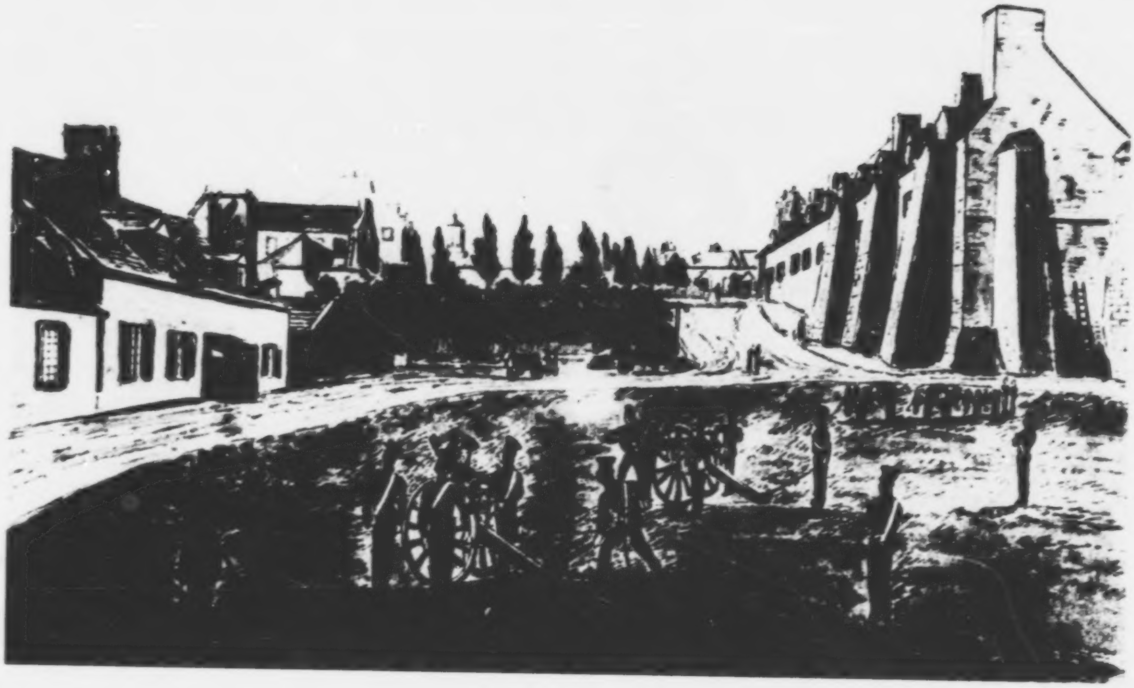


Figure 13. Gunnery drill on the parade square of Artillery Park in 1829. In the background can be seen, from left to right, part of the guard corps, the school, the gardens, officers' quarters and the Dauphine redoubt, also used to house Royal Artillery officers. (Drawing by J.P. Cockburn, Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto.)

some involving the guns on the fortifications. These were a matter of some concern to the inhabitants of Lower Town. In 1778 a reader of the *Gazette* asked the gunners to be mindful of the munitions they used in the loading of the guns, there being some danger of fire from inflammable material.[102] It was reported in 1853 that heavy artillery firing exercises at the Citadel had to be restricted so as not to endanger navigation on the river and because of the objections voiced regarding the risk of fire in the town.[103] Heavy artillery exercises were henceforth limited or performed elsewhere.

In winter, generally in March, exercises were carried out on the ice of the Saint-Charles River. In 1827, for example, and again in 1835 and 1862, rocket-firing practices were held at the mouth of the river.[104] In 1861 the commander requested permission to use 88 worn greatcoats for such drills so as to prevent wear and tear to regular issue clothing.[105] In the summer field artillery exercises were generally held on the Plains of Abraham, though training camps were set up on the Island of Orleans at the end of the season. In 1868 batteries camped on the island between June 30 and August 11.[106] In 1869 the 8th Battery, 3rd Brigade was on exercises there between July 20 and 26.[107]

Gunner drills were of various kinds. When requisitioning munitions the artillery commander would request missiles for the garrison guns (his heavy artillery), field guns and mortars, and for rocket-firing drills.[108] Firing the guns involved various duties, the number of men required being proportinal to the calibre of the piece.[109] Normally two men were placed at the front, one to sponge the barrel and ram the charge home, the other loading the powder and shot. Two others stood at the back, one to plug the vent, the other to place and light the fuse. There was a fifth gunner standing behind the gun along the axis of the barrel, to give orders and lay the gun. Other gunners passed the ammunition.[110] The same exercises could be performed by fewer gunners, each performing two tasks. These drills made gunners ready for any situation.

Powder Manufacture

From 1838 to 1840 construction was carried out on a laboratory in Quebec City,[111] although our documentation mentions no appointment of a firemaster prior to 1850, when Major Sumons was appointed to that position.[112] There was a directive stating that no one should be considered for such appointment if he were not a graduate of the Royal Laboratory or of Walthem Abbey.[113] In 1860, since Captain Mahon was acting as both Firemaster and Inspector of Warlike Stores, it was requested that he be relieved of garrison duties.[114] The laboratory employed both civilian and military personnel. In 1864 there was an explosion that caused the death of 11 people, mostly soldiers.[115] In addition to gunpowder the laboratory manufactured blank ammunition for infantry rifles.[116]

Related Professional Duties

Artillery officers might become inventors. Some of them gave their names to missiles they designed, like Shrapnell and Congreve. In Canada our sources provide us with the name of one such inventor: Captain Tylden. This officer, who was posted to Canada on numerous occasions between 1818 and 1840,[117] worked at improving the efficiency of sledges used for carrying guns and ammunition. Subsequently a number of these sledges "of Captain Tylden Pattern"[118] were manufactured.

Other officers turned to other duties. Reference was made in an earlier chapter to Lieutenant Hall, who drew plans of the town of Quebec for the Royal Engineers. Other artillery officers worked as assistant engineers for that department. In 1813, Captain Gordon, R.A., was appointed assistant engineer at the Île aux Noix.[119] In 1828, Lieutenant Smith, R.A., was appointed to a similar position for the building of the Rideau Canal.[120] In 1845 the commander of the Royal Engineers submitted another request for assistants to the commander of the Royal Artillery. The latter suggested two names and the master general of Ordnance selected Lieutenant Cox.[121]

Para-Military Duties

Firefighting

Between 1760 and 1871 fires were a frequent occurrence in Quebec City.[122] Firefighting regulations were introduced in 1834, artillery companies being charged with firefighting responsibilities along with the infantry regiment quartered in the Jesuit Barracks.[123] On several occasions gunners fought fires and were praised for their actions the next day in the local press.[124] When there was a fire serious enough to threaten an entire area, they would knock down houses to prevent its spread. In 1845, for example, fire broke out in the Saint-Jean district, threateneing 1300 houses. Captain Warburton and Lieutenant Shakespeare prevented a disaster by demolishing houses with gunfire.[125] Though Quebec City had its own fire department by 1870, it still had to request the gunners' assistance.[126]

Work Parties

Gunners were probably required to provide work parties along with the other regiments. These were called upon for maintenance, cleaning, transportation of goods, and building and repairing of barracks and fortifications. After 1830, however, some of these tasks, such as the cleaning of latrines, were contracted out to civilians.[127] Some, but not all, work-party duty was paid. During the 19th century the term "fatigue party" was used to designate unpaid work, and the term "working party" was used for paid work.

Work performed on barracks and fortifications was paid. Since some skilled labour was needed, civilians were employed alongside soldiers. Other things being equal, however, it appeared more economical to use soldiers at 1s 3d *per diem* rather than civilians at 4s.[128] Soldiers who were not tradesmen received 9d for work as day labourers. Royal Engineer pay lists give some indication of the number of gunners employed as tradesmen. Those available for the years 1787-89 list only a few, though the name of John Giles, a carpenter, appears fairly frequently. He was paid 1s 3d *per diem* in 1788, 1s 6d from November 1788 to July 1789 and 1s 3d for the balance of 1789.[129] Other names appear no more than once or twice: James Rankin, a painter, was paid 1s 3d *per diem*;[130] John Cook, a sawyer, 2s 5d per 200 feet of wood.[131] In 1801, Gunner William Penman received 1s *per diem* as a day labourer.[132] It would appear, however, that foot soldiers were more often sent to work on the fortifications, there being few gunners employed in this way. In 1870, infantry strength being much reduced, at least 20 men of the Royal Regiment of Artillery were put to work building Fort No. 1 in Lévis.[133]

Certain kinds of work were less well paid. In 1862, for instance, gunners were paid 4d *per diem* to whitewash rooms in the Dauphine redoubt, the Hope Gate guardhouse and the Citadel casemates.[134] In any event, this type of activity made it possible for soldiers to supplement their income, though they were required to be on their bes behaviour lest they be deprived "of the indulgence of being employed again."[135]

Police Duties

A further opportunity to earn extra income was provided by the search for and apprehending of deserters. One day's search for a deserter could entitle a detachment to claim 2s 6d for every one of i members.[136] A soldier who captured a deserter received a reward. In 1838 a reward was recommended for Gunner Amen, who had recaptured prisoners escaped from the Citadel.[137] Gunners could be employed as gaolers. In 1849 the artillery commander authorized the appointment Bombardier William Hemsley as gaoler for the military section of the Quebec gaol.[138]

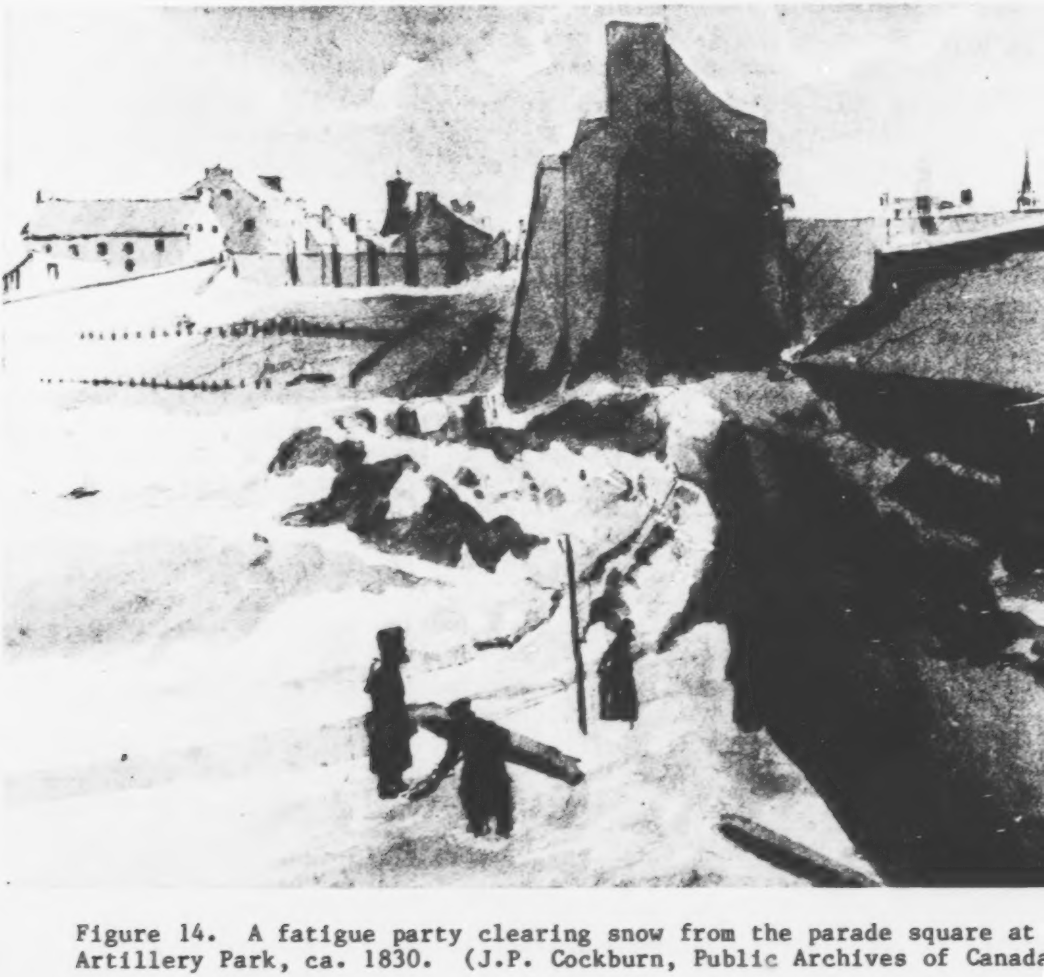


Figure 14. A fatigue party clearing snow from the parade square at Artillery Park, ca. 1830. (J.P. Cockburn, Public Archives of Canad

Regimental Employment

The regiment itself needed skilled workers to look after its requirements in the areas of clothing, food and education.

As clothing wore out and winter greatcoats required alterations, it was necessary to call upon men already trained as tailors. These were, in consequence, distributed among the various companies. In 1810 Colonel Glasgow requested that some good tailors be included in the next draft of gunners for his regiment, because of the difficulty of providing the men with clothing suitable for the Canadian climate.[139] In addition it was decided in 1865 to include one cobbler in every battery of the regiment.[140]

Some gunners could be employed in the kitchens, such as Gunner William Thieves who, in 1819, was a cook in the officers' mess, shared by the Royal Regiment of Artillery and the Royal Engineers.[141] In 1841 Gunner William Wood was allowed to work in the Quebec bakery to make biscuits.[142] At the end of the period a Cook Sergeant who had graduated from the cooking school at Aldershot[143] was posted to each artillery brigade.

Regimental schools were created around 1811, with sergeants as schoolmasters.[144] In addition a female teacher was employed to teach the younger children, she being generally selected from among the soldiers' wives.

Officers' Servants

Regulations provided for the employment of up to two soldiers as servants by each officer of the Royal Regiment of Artillery.[145] Gunners could not, however, be employed as servants by officers of other regiments. In addition any servant had to be selected from among the men of the officer's company or battalion. When an officer was posted to another detachment, however, he retained his servant and had him transferred to the other unit. In 1801, for example, Colonel Debrisay asked permission to be accompanied by his servant, who had been with him for six years and had become quite attached to the family.[146] Officers departing on leave could also be allowed to take their servant along. Servants were still expected to perform their normal regimental or garrison duties.

In brief, officers exercised command of troops and carried out administrative duties as well as being responsible for the maintenance of weapons. Some routine tasks could, however, be delegated to non-commissioned officers. As for privates, once they had discharged their military duties and performed their drills, they could be employed as cheap labour for the construction or repair of military buildings and fortifications or as personal servants to officers.

CONCLUSION

This study of the Royal Regiment of Artillery has made it possible to determine its place within the labyrinthian organizational structures of the British army. It has as well provided an opportunity to deal with a large number of military authorities and officials who could influence the life of the artillerymen. Similarly, the study of the regiment's structures has placed the presence of artillerymen in Quebec City within the larger context of the growth of the British regular army from war to war or as a consequence of colonial expansion. By comparing figures from different periods of the strength of the artillery companies in Quebec City, some insight has been gained into the various events leading to fluctuations, as well as into the relative importance

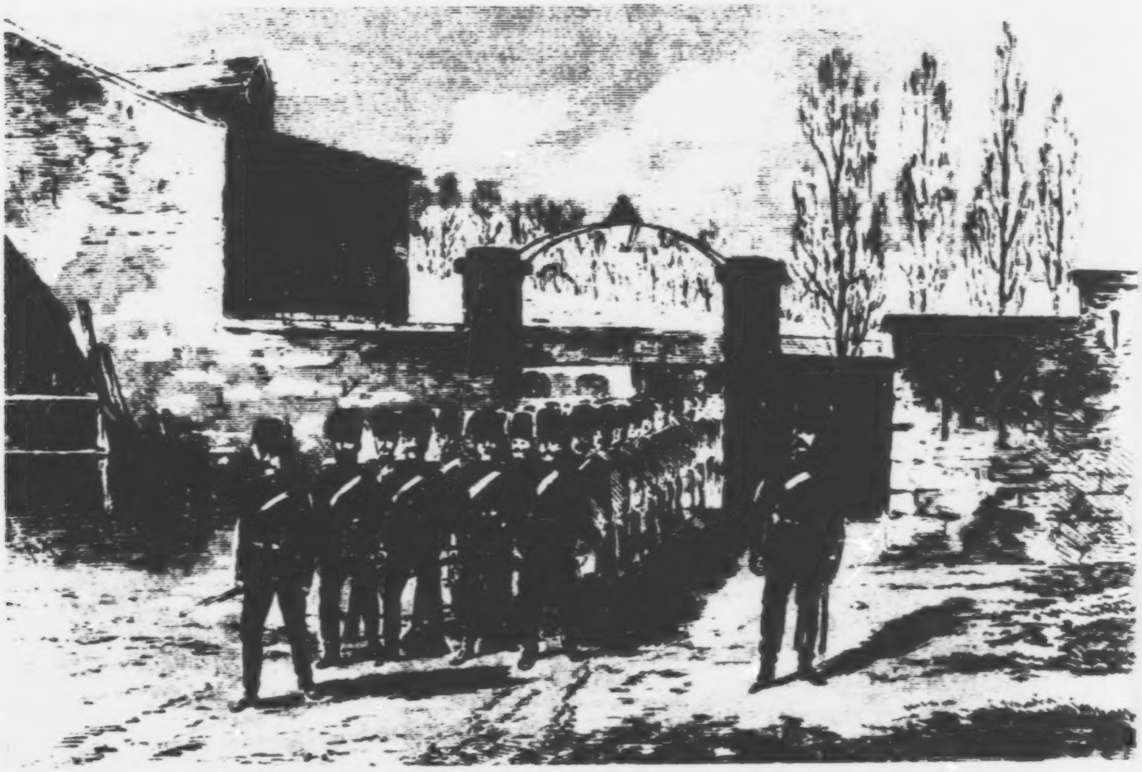


Figure 15. The departure of the Royal Regiment of Artillery in 1871. (W.O.C. Carlisle, *Canadian Illustrated News*, 2 December 1871, p. 360.)

attached to Quebec City in the distribution of such troops as were available for service in Canada.

An attempt has been made to sketch a picture of the men of the Royal Regiment by looking at their social background, their career prospects and the daily duties they were expected to perform. The wide gap separating officers on the one hand from non-commissioned officers and privates on the other has been made clear. But it has also been pointed out that it was possible for the Royal Regiment of Artillery to feel that, as a whole, it stood apart from the rest of the army by virtue of its unique responsibilities; that it was, in fact, an elite corps. Promotion on the basis of seniority indeed prevented a more rapid ascension of the rich and aristocrats to the top of the hierarchy, providing technically trained officers with the opportunity of making better use of their talents.

Some idea of a number of aspects of the presence of the British military in Quebec City can be gained from this study of the Royal Regiment of Artillery. British military institutions were closely linked to those of the political authorities charged with the government of Canada. The soldiers made their presence felt by their numbers and their activities. They formed a society within a society and were a symbol of Britain's control over the French-speaking colony. From 1759 to 1775 the artillery played its part in the conquest of this colony and its maintenance under British domination. Subsequently its presence was justified by the fear of an invasion from the south, though artillerymen were expected at all times to stand ready to keep order in the event of a rebellion.

APPENDIX A. LIST OF GOVERNORS AND COMMANDERS-IN-CHIEF SERVING IN CANADA AND THEIR ALTERNATES, 1759-1871.[1]

Governors

Governor James Murray	1759-66
Administrator Paulus Aemilius Irwing	1766
Lt.-Gov. Guy Carleton	1766-68
Governor Guy Carleton	1768-70
Lt.-Gov. Theo. Cramahé	1770-74
Governor Guy Carleton	1774-78
Governor Frederick Haldimand	1778-84
Lt.-Gov. Henry Hamilton	1784-85
Lt.-Gov. Henry Hope	1785-86
Goverbor Guy Carleton	1786-91
Lt.-Gov. Allured Clarke	1791-93
Governor Guy Carleton	1793-96
Lt.-Gov. Robert Prescott	1796
Governor Robert Prescott	1797-99
Lt.-Gov. R.S. Milnes	1799-1805
Administrator Thomas Dunn	1805-7
Governor James Craig	1807-11
Administrator Thomas Dunn	1811
Administrator George Prevost	1811-12
Governor George Prevost	1812-15
Administrator Gordon Drummond	1815-16
Administrator John Wilson	1816
Governor John C. Sherbrooke	1816-18
Governor Charles Lennox, Duke of Richmond	1818-19
Administrator James Monk	1819-20
Administrator Peregrine Maitland	1820
Governor George Dalhousie	1820-24
Lt.-Gov. Francis Burton	1824-25
Governor George Dalhousie	1825-28
Administrator James Kempt	1828-30
Administrator Matthew Aylmer	1830-31
Governor Matthew Aylmer	1831-35
Governor Archibald Gosford	1835-38
Administrator John Colborne	1838
Governor John Durham	1838
Governor John Colborne	1839
Governor Charles P. Thompson	1839-41
Administrator Rich. D. Jackson	1842
Governor Charles Bagot	1842-43

Governor Charles T. Metcalfe	1843-45
Administrator Charles Murray Cathcart	1845-46
Governor Charles Murray Cathcart	1846-47
Governor James Elgin	1847-53
Administrator William Rowan	1853-54
Governor Edmund Head	1854-57
Administrator William Eyre	1857
Governor Edmund Head	1857-61
Administrator William F. Williams	1861
Governor Charles S. Monk	1861-65
Administrator John Michel	1865-66
Governor Charles S. Monk	1866
Administrator John Michel	1866-67
Governor Charles S. Monk	1868
Administrator John Windham	1868
Administrator John Young	1868-69
Governor John Young	1869-72

Commanders-in-Chief in America

General Jeffrey Amherst	1758-63
General Thomas Gage	1763-75
General William Howe	1775-78
General Henry Clinton	1778-82

Commanders-in-Chief in Canada

Colonel Ralph Burton	1763-68
Major-General Guy Carleton	1768-78
Major-General Frederick Haldimand	1778-84
Colonel Barry St. Leger	1784-85
Major-General Allured Clarke	1785-86
General Guy Carleton	1786-91
Major-General Allured Clarke	1791-93
General Guy Carleton	1793-96
General Robert Prescott	1796-99
Lieutenant-General Peter Hunter	1799-1805
Lieutenant-Colonel B.F. Bowes	1805-6
Lieutenant-Colonel Isaac Brock	1806-7
Lieutenant-General James Craig	1807-11
Lieutenant-General George Prevost	1811-15
Lieutenant-General Gordon Drummond	1815-16
Major-General John Wilson	1816
Lieutenant-General John C. Sherbrooke	1816-18
General Charles Lennox, Duke of Richmond	1818-19
Major-General Peregrine Maitland	1819
Lieutenant-General George Dalhousie	1820-24
Major-General Peregrine Maitland	1824-25
Lieutenant-General George Dalhousie	1825-28
Lieutenant-General James Kempt	1828-30
General Matthew Whitworth, Baron of Aylmer	1830-35
Lieutenant-General John Colborne	1835-39

Lieutenant-General R.D. Jackson	1839-45
Lieutenant-General Charles Murray Cathcart	1845-46
Lieutenant-General Benjamin d'Urban	1847-49
Lieutenant-General William Rowan	1849-55
Major-General J. Howe	1855-56
Lieutenant-General William Eyre	1856-59
Lieutenant-General William Fenwick Williams	1859-65
Lieutenant-General John Michel	1865-67
Lieutenant-General C. Ash Windham	1867-70
Lieutenant-General James Lindsay	1870

APPENDIX B. OFFICERS COMMANDING ROYAL REGIMENT OF ARTILLERY FOR CANADA AND QUEBEC: 1759-1871.[1]

For America 1759-82

Colonel Georges Williamson	1757-60
Colonel Samuel Cleaveland	1760-78
Colonel Thomas James	1778-80
Colonel William Martin	1780-81

For Quebec 1759-75

Captain Thomas James	1759-61
Captain David Hay	1761-63
Captain William Martin	1764-67
Captain Charles Farrington	1767-71
Captain T. Simpson	1771
Captain Forbes Maclean	1771-73
Captain T. Jones	1773-75

For Quebec and Canada 1775-1838

Major-General William Phillips	1776-77
Major William Borthwick	1777-78
Major Forbes Maclean	1778
Major Thomas Davies	1780
Major Edward Williams	1783
Lieutenant-Colonel William Johnstone	1785
Major Stewart	1792
Lieutenant-Colonel William Borthwick	1794
Captain George Glasgow	1796-99
Major Thomas Debrisay	1800-1801
Lieutenant-Colonel George Glasgow	1801-15
Lieutenant-Colonel Henry Phillott	1816-17
Colonel Wiltshire Wilson	1817-20
Lieutenant-Colonel Henry Phillott	1820-25
Captain Peter Wallace	1826
Lieutenant-Colonel James Pattison Cockburn	1826-32
Lieutenant-Colonel Godby	1833-37
Lieutenant-Colonel Stephen Kirby	1837-38

For Quebec 1838-71

Lieutenant-Colonel Stephen Kirby	1837-42
Lieutenant-Colonel Walker	1842-47

Lieutenant-Colonel F.G. Higgins	1847-52
Lieutenant-Colonel Daniel Thorndike	1852-55
Lieutenant-Colonel Charles James Dalton	1855-58
Lieutenant-Colonel David William Paynter	1859-62
Colonel Anthony Benn	1862-64
Lieutenant-Colonel Hornsby	1864-65
Lieutenant-Colonel McCrea	1865-67
Lieutenant-Colonel George Chandler	1867-71

For Canada 1838-71

Colonel Frederick Campbell	1838-47
Colonel Dyneley	1847-52
Colonel William Bell	1852-57
Colonel Joseph Arthur Taylor	1857-60
Colonel F.W. Eardly-Wilmot	1860-62
Colonel Franklin Dunlop	1862-67
Colonel George Harvey Kennedy	1867-68
Colonel Radcliffe	1868-69
Colonel James Robert Gibbon	1869-70

APPENDIX C. LIST OF COMPANIES AND BATTERIES OF THE ROYAL REGIMENT OF ARTILLERY STATIONED IN QUEBEC CITY FOR OVER FIVE MONTHS: 1759-1871.[1]

		Date of		Date of	
		Arrival	Departure	Arrival	Departure
		(mo/yr)		(mo/yr)	
1759-86					
Name	Battalion	Quebec City		North America	
Hislop	1st	8/1759	8/1763	7/1757	7/1767
James	1st	8/1759	7/1767	8/1759	7/1767
Farrington	1st	7/1767	7/1771	10/1766	7/1773
Maclean	1st	7/1771	7/1773	11/1767	7/1773
Jones	4th	7/1773	5/1775	7/1773	11/1783
Borthwick	3rd	5/1777	8/1778	9/1776	10/1783
Williams	4th	10/1783	10/1786	7/1773	10/1786
Keith	4th	8/1784	10/1786	7/1773	10/1786
Houghton	4th	11/1784	10/1786	7/1773	10/1786
1786-1827					
Name	Battalion	Quebec City		Canada	
Blomefield	1st	9/1786	10/1790	9/1786	10/1790
Dowman	1st	9/1786	10/1790	9/1786	10/1790
Abbott	1st	9/1786	10/1790	9/1786	10/1790
Goll	1st	9/1786	10/1790	9/1786	10/1790
Brady	4th	10/1790	8/1791	10/1790	6/1815
		1/1794	5/1796		
		8/1796	10/1812		
Lemoine	4th	10/1790	10/1795	10/1790	6/1815
		6/1797	4/1813		
Marlow	4th	10/1790	5/1791	10/1790	6/1815
		9/1793	6/1799		
		2/1800	10/1807		
		11/1808	5/1811		
		11/1814	6/1815		
Seward	4th	10/1790	8/1793	10/1790	8/1820
		11/1795	8/1800		
		1/1805	4/1808		
		1/1809	7/1816		
		6/1817	6/1819		
		10/1819	8/1820		
Maxwell	4th	6/1818	5/1822	7/1814	6/1824
Chester	1st	8/1820	6/1823	8/1820	6/1827
Cockburn	7th	6/1822	9/1823	6/1813	9/1823

Wallace	4th	9/1823	12/1824	9/1823	6/1829
Mercer	5th	9/1823	5/1824	9/1823	6/1829
		5/1827	7/1829		
Coffin	4th	6/1824	4/1827	6/1824	6/1830
Morrison	4th	6/1824	4/1827	6/1814	6/1830

1827-57

Company	Battalion	Quebec City		Canada	
1st	6th	6/1827	5/1829	6/1827	6/1835
		5/1833	6/1835		
7th	3rd	7/1829	5/1830	7/1829	9/1842
		5/1837	12/1838		
		6/1842	9/1842		
4th	4th	7/1829	5/1830	7/1829	9/1842
		5/1833	10/1838		
		4/1839	9/1842		
6th	6th	7/1830	4/1833	7/1830	5/1843
		9/1842	5/1843		
7th	1st	7/1830	8/1835	7/1830	5/1843
4th	5th	7/1835	7/1837	7/1835	8/1844
1st	4th	1/1839	5/1842	1/1839	8/1843
4th	2nd	9/1842	8/1844	9/1842	8/1848
		6/1848	8/1848		
5th	3rd	8/1843	5/1845	8/1843	5/1849
2nd	5th	9/1844	7/1848	9/1844	7/1850
4th	1st	6/1845	5/1849	6/1845	4/1851
1st	7th	9/1848	6/1850	9/1848	10/1853
		6/1852	10/1853		
1st	4th	5/1849	5/1852	5/1849	9/1854
8th	9th	6/1850	4/1851	7/1845	4/1851
1st	10th	5/1851	5/1854	5/1851	4/1857
		9/1854	4/1857		
1st	2nd	9/1853	8/1854	8/1850	8/1854
2nd	10th	10/1854	4/1857	5/1851	4/1857

1857-62[3]

		Quebec City		Canada	
1st company changed to 3rd battery	4th battalion 7th brigade	5/1857	9/1862	5/1857	9/1862
7th company changed to 4th battery	3rd battalion 7th brigade	5/1857	9/1862	5/1857	9/1862

1862-71[4]

Battery	Brigade	Quebec City		Canada	
5th	7th	1/1862	6/1862	1/1862	9/1862
6th	7th	6/1862	10/1863	1/1862	10/1863
2nd	10th	9/1862	9/1865	9/1862	9/1867
7th	10th	9/1862	4/1864	9/1862	9/1867
1st	10th	4/1864	9/1865	2/1862	9/1867
3rd	10th	4/1864	9/1865	9/1862	9/1867

4th	10th	10/1865	8/1865	2/1862	8/1867
5th	10th	10/1865	8/1867	2/1862	8/1867
6th	10th	10/1865	8/1867	2/1862	8/1867
2nd	3rd	8/1867	6/1869	8/1867	6/1869
3rd	3rd	8/1867	6/1869	8/1867	6/1869
4th	3rd	8/1867	6/1869	8/1867	6/1869
5th	3rd	6/1869	11/1871	10/1867	11/1871
7th	3rd	7/1869	11/1870	10/1867	11/1870
8th	3rd	7/1869	11/1870	10/1867	11/1870

APPENDIX D. CHANGES IN THE ORGANIZATION OF THE ROYAL REGIMENT OF ARTILLERY IN 1859.[1]

HORSE GUARDS, S.W.
1st April, 1859.

GENERAL ORDER

The successive augmentations to the Royal Artillery having caused an assemblage at Woolwich of an unwieldy Regimental Staff, Her Majesty's Government on the recommmendation of His Royal Highness the General Commanding in Chief, has decided that the Head Quarters of the Royal Artillery shall remain, as heretofore, at Woolwich, but that the Staff of the Battalions shall be distributed to the several Districts and Garrisons at home and abroad, for which purpose His Royal Highness directs that the following arrangements be carried out, viz.:-

The present terms "Battalion," "Troop," and "Company" will be superseded by "Brigade" and "Battery," and the Regimental Staff of the existing Battalions will form Brigades bearing corresponding numbers, and in the first instance be distributed as follows:-

The Royal Horse Brigade: Head Quarters at Woolwich, detaching Batteries where required.
The 1st Brigade, Garrison Artillery: Head Quarters, Woolwich.
The 2nd Brigade, Garrison Artillery: Head Quarters, Dover.
The 3rd Brigade, Garrison Artillery: Head Quarters, Devonport.
The 4th Brigade, Field Artillery: Head Quarters, Woolwich.
The 5th Brigade, Garrison Artillery: Head Quarters, Gibraltar.
The 6th Brigade, Garrison Artillery: Head Quarters, Malta.
The 7th Brigade, Field Artillery: Head Quarters, Québec.
The 8th Brigade, Field Artillery: Head Quarters, Portsmouth.
The 9th Brigade, Field Artillery: Head Quarters, Ballincollig.
The 10th Brigade, Garrison Artillery: Head Quarters, Guernsey.
The 11th Brigade, Field Artillery: Head Quarters, Bengal.
The 12th Brigade, Garrison Artillery: Head Quarters, Mauritius.
The 13th Brigade, Field Artillery: Head Quarters, Bombay.
The 14th Brigade, Field Artillery: Head Quarters, Bengal.

In making this Distribution, His Royal Highness wishes to impress upon the minds of the Officers, Non-Commissioned Officers, and Men of the Royal Artillery, that in removing the Head Quarters of the majority of the Brigades from Woolwich, he is anxious that this Station, which has been, during so many years, the seat of scientific knowledge and professional instruction, shall still continue to be so considered: and that his earnest desire is to make this time-honoured Depot of the Royal Artillery still more efficient as the great centre of instruction for the whole Corps of Artillery.

Although the Brigades are thus alloted for the present, it must be distinctly borne in mind that the General Commanding in Chief will, from time to time, cause such alterations therein as His Royal Highness may deem desirable--changing the Batteries or Brigades from Field to Garrison duties, or *vice versa*, and removing the Head Quarters or Stations of any of them as may be requisite.

It being very desirable that every man in the Regiment should be thoroughly acquainted with the whole of the duties of the Artillery Soldier, Commanding Officers will be held responsible that the Drivers are instructed as far as possible as Gunners, and the Gunners, where practicable, in Driving Drill.

The reliefs will be carried on by entire Brigades, and it will be arranged that each Brigade, before proceeding on Foreign Service shall, if practicable, be stationed at least twelve months at Woolwich.

The Depot Brigade at Woolwich will supersede the present Adjutants and Field Battery Detachments, the Regimental Staff of the Field Batteries will be transferred to it, and it will recruit for Foreign Brigades as hereinafter provided.

A general idea of the intended system may be gathered from the following observations, but there will necessarily be many matters of minor detail which it would be impracticable to provide for in the present Order:-

DISTRICT AND BRIGADE COMMANDS

Each Brigade will be placed under the command of a Regimental Colonel or Lieutenant-Colonel, who will have the entire control of it, and hold the same relative position as an Officer commanding a Regiment: he will make his own Non-Commissioned Officers, and on all matters of interior economy, will communicate direct with the Adjutant-General.

As, however, it will not be practicable for the whole of the Batteries of a Brigade to be at all times in the same District as its Head Quarters, the Officer commanding the Royal Artillery in each district will command the whole of the Artillery serving in it, in the same manner as Companies of Different Battalions serving in one District, or at one Station, are now under the orders of the District Commanding Officer, although furnishing periodical Returns, &c., to enable the Officer commanding the Battalion to keep up the Records of the men at Head Quarters.

DETAIL of the 7th Brigade Royal Artillery. Head Quarters, Quebec.
For Garrison Duty

Present		Station	To Become		Station	ESTABLISHMENT													
Battalion	Company		Brigade	Battery		Sergeant Major	QuarterMaster-Sergeant	Trumpet Major	Orderly Room Sergeant	Paymaster Sergeant	Repository Sergeant	Hospital Sergeant	Armourer Sergeant	Staff Sergeants	Sergeants	Corporals	Bombardiers	Gunners	Trumpeters	Total
8	8	Jamaica	7	1	Jamaica									1	6	4	4	100	2	117
13	4	Bermuda	7	2	Bermuda									1	6	4	4	100	2	117
3	7	Quebec	7	3	Quebec									1	6	4	4	100	2	117
4	1	Quebec	7	4	Quebec									1	6	4	4	100	2	117
14	1	Halifax	7	5	Halifax									1	6	4	4	100	2	117
14	2	Halifax	7	6	Halifax									1	6	4	4	100	2	117
12	2	Barbados	7	7	Barbados									1	6	4	4	100	2	117
					Staff	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1							
					Total	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	7	42	28	28	700	14	827

APPENDIX E. REGULATIONS CONCERNING SOLDIERS' WIVES

1811 Regulations[1]

Regulations prescribing the Number of Women (being the Wives of Soldiers) to be permitted to accompany Regiments, or Detachments, embarking for Foreign Service, and the Allowances which are granted to the Wives and Children of Soldiers who may not be permitted to embark with Regiments, or Detachments, ordered on Service abroad.

Except on Occasions, when circumstances may render it necessary for Troops to embark entirely without Women (which will be particularly notified), the lawful Wives of Soldiers are permitted to embark in the proportion of Six to One Hundred Men, including Non-commissioned Officers.

To such Wives of Soldiers as are not permitted to embark with their Husbands, the Rates of Allowance, authorized by the Act of the 51st of Geo. III. ch. 106, will be granted, to enable them to proceed to their Homes, or to the Places at which they intend to reside during the Absence of their Husbands on Service, as stated in the following Pages.

1813 Regulations[2]

General Order. Horse-Guards, 10th April, 1813.

His Royal Highness the Commander-in-Chief is pleased to direct, that when a Regiment embarks for Garrison Duty on Foreign Service, the lawful Wives of Soldiers shall be permitted to embark, in the proportion of Twelve per Company, including the Wives of Non-commissioned Officers, and Rations are to be issued for them as long as the Corps remains in a Foreign Garrison.

When a Regiment embarks for active Field Service, the number of Soldiers' Wives to be permitted to accompany it, must be limited to Six per Company, or their Embarkation must be altogether forbidden, according to the nature of the Service for which the Regiment may be destined.

To such Wives of Soldiers as are not permitted to embark with their Husbands, the Rates of Allowance, authorized by the Act of the 51st of George III., chap. 106, and by the Act of the 52d of Geo. III., chap. 120 (Extracts from which are contained in the following pages), will be granted, to enable them to proceed to their Homes, or to the Places at which they intend to reside, during the absence of their Husbands on Service.

If a Regiment should embark from a Foreign Garrison for Field Service, such Soldiers' Wives as are not permitted to embark with the Regiment, are to be sent by the earliest conveyance to this Country: on their arrival in Great Britain or Ireland, they will receive the Rates of Allowance specified in the Acts of Parliament above alluded to.

When a Royal Veteran Battalion embarks for Foreign Garrison Duty, all Soldiers' Wives of good characters, who are desirous of accompanying their Husbands, are to be permitted to embark.

This Order is to cancel that which is contained in page 255 of the General Regulations and Orders for the Army.

By Command, &c.
HARRY CALVERT,
Adjutant-General.

1863 Regulations[3]

VIII. -- Married Soldiers.

Married establishments.

422. The regulations restricting the number of men permitted to be borne on the married establishment of a corps, and the advantages allowed to them, are contained in Clause 50 of the Army Circulars, 1867.

Marriages to be discouraged.

423. Commanding officers of regiments, who have ample experience of the very great inconvenience arising to the service, and to the public, from the improvident marriage of soldiers, are to discountenance such connexions, and to explain to the men that their comforts, as soldiers, are in a very small degree increased by their marriage, while the inconvenience and distress naturally accruing therefrom are serious and unavoidable, particularly when regiments are ordered to embark for foreign service.

Consent of commanding officer.

424. Every soldier, previously to his marriage, should obtain the consent of his commanding officer, and state the name and condition of the woman he proposes to marry, and whether she be a spinster or a widow. In granting their consent commanding officers should most carefully consider the claims of the soldier, as regards good conduct and length of service, and when deserving soldiers cannot be admitted on the strength of their corps as married men, their applications should be registered, with a view to their wives being taken on the strength as vacancies occur.

Vacancies abroad; how filled.

425. Officers commanding regiments on foreign stations are to specify in the returns which they transmit to the depôt companies at home, the vacancies which occur in the regulated number of soldiers' wives, and are to name those whom they may recommend to be sent out to fill such vacancies. Soldiers' wives who have joined the regiment without authority, or who may, by the permission of the Commander-in-chief (obtained through the Quartermaster-General), accompany officers as servants in their families, and afterwards quit such service, are not to benefit by being allowed at any future time to fill vacancies on the establishment of soldiers' wives, which vacancies must be reserved for those who have waited at home for their turn to go out.

Sleeping out of quarter.

426. No soldiers are to be allowed to sleep out of their quarters permanently, except those who are borne on the strength of their corps

as married men, or who are married with leave, and together with their wives are of good character. Married men who are allowed to mess and sleep out of barracks for their own comfort and the benefit of their families, must be regular in attending to their duties, orderly in their lodgings or quarters exact in dress, and never leave their lodgings or quarters after tattoo except when on duty or on leave. Any man not obeying these orders is to be immediately brought into barracks.

Men married without leave.

427. In cases where a soldier married without leave has any children, the commanding officer may use his discretion in granting permission to the man to be out of the troop, battery, or company mess, in order to support his family.

Instruction of soldiers' children in trades.

428. It is suggested as an arrangement which may be adopted with advantage in all corps in which regimental workshops have been established, that every facility should be given to the elder boys for instructions in trades, the wishes of the parents being as far as possible consulted, and that in mounted corps they should not only be allowed, but encouraged, to attend the stable hours, in order that they may have an opportunity of qualifying themselves to act as grooms.

APPENDIX F. TABLE OF CONTENTS OF AN ARTILLERY TRAINING MANUAL.[1]

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Equipment-Fireworks-Fortifications-Mathematics-Gunnery, &c &c.

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APPENDIX G. PREVIOUS EMPLOYMENT OF SOLDIERS SERVING IN SCOTLAND IN 1851, ACCORDING TO A SURVEY BY ALAN RAMSEY SKELLEY.[1] D

	Total Ranks	Percent Ranks	Total NCO	Percent NCO
Rural Workers:				
Agricultural Labourers	78	16,7	6	8,6
Fishermen	1	0,2	-	-
Artisans:				
Cloth Trade	48	10,4	5	7,1
Carter	1	0,2	-	-
Cabinet Maker	8	1,7	1	1,4
Saddler	1	0,2	3	4,3
Domestic:				
Servant	11	2,4	2	2,9
Groom	12	2,6	1	1,4
Gardener	3	0,6	1	1,4
Professional/Semi-Professional:				
Clerk	10	2,2	8	11,4
Schoolmaster	1	0,2	-	-
Industrial Workers:				
General Labourer	165	35,4	16	22,9
Semi-Skilled Trade:				
Shoemaker	21	4,5	18	11,4
Tailor	1	0,2	-	-
Butcher	-	-	1	1,4
Painter	-	-	-	-
Skilled	28	6,0	5	7,1
Other	61	13,1	7	10,0
None	16	3,4	6	8,0
TOTAL	466	100	70	100

APPENDIX H. AN ACCOUNT OF THE ENLISTMENT OF ALEXANDER ALEXANDER IN THE ROYAL REGIMENT OF ARTILLERY.[1]

A runaway son enlists in the Royal Artillery, 1801

ANOTHER feeling, not the least powerful, urged me on: I longed to show my father I could rise in the world without his aid, and that all his prophecies of me would be falsified; for, in his anger, he had repeatedly said, I would end in being a soldier, then get flogged and desert, and finish my career at the gallows. I could not bring myself to think he had ever thrown me off, but still indulged the hope, that when he found I did behave well as a soldier, and was not that weather-cock he called me, I might yet be aided by him in obtaining that commission on which I had set my heart.

As I sauntered about the streets of Glasgow, I saw the new guard marching to relieve the old, their band playing a cheerful air. This being the first military band I had ever heard, I was quite charmed with it, and followed, unconsciously taking the step and holding up my head. A military enthusiasm instantly seized me, and I felt as if a soldier's life was the only station for which nature had designed me.

When they halted, I addressed a recruiting sergeant, belonging to a highland regiment, who was looking on, with, 'That is a fine band, sergeant,' he answered me with a grunt. I looked at him alike amazed and offended; I meant it as an introduction to my offering myself to him as a recruit. Again I said, 'This is a fine day,' Donald would not take the hint, and only gave a second grunt. I left him in disgust, wondering how a soldier could be so very stupid. I am now aware that I was far too well dressed.

Soon after I met a sergeant belonging to the Royal Artillery, and accosted him with a 'Good morning, sergeant.' He was a man of quite another stamp than the highlander; we were soon as intimate as if we had been acquainted for years. He requested me to go to a public house, and have something to drink, which I refused; but I begged to have a walk on Glasgow Green with him; and away we went.

While we walked, so frank and friendly did he appear that I laid open my whole heart to him, and felt grateful for the interest he appeared to take in my welfare. When he had heard me out he said, 'As a recruiting sergeant you may think I have an interest in what I say, but I assure you, I have none. As your friend, I give my advice, which I have weighed thoroughly and impartially; and I say enlist at once, my brave fellow; it is the only thing for a young lad of spirit in any situation, but more so in yours. You have lost too much of your time already; if you enlist now you will receive this day's pay, and you may think yourself very fortunate to get into so fine a corps. It is the best and most honourable under the crown, and has many advantages no other soldiers enjoy. We have superior pay, superior clothing, little marching, always riding with the guns when on expedition, &c. Then you have your marching money, no musket or kit to carry, just a sword such as you see the party wear. Besides, there is no flogging in the Royal Artillery, but every encouragement is held out for young men of every description, and much more so to such fine-spirited, well-educated, young fellows as you.'

Thus he harangued, holding out a thousand false promises, with which I shall not trouble the reader, and concluded with his solemn assurance, that I would be a sergeant in six months, and an officer in a year or two at the very farthest. All this I firmly believed; and I only stipulated that I was not to march up and down the town with the party, nor be seen much in his company. To this he readily agreed, under the proviso that I must appear before him at least once every day; and if I wished to leave the town for any time, I must get his leave, and then I might go where I pleased.

Everything being thus arranged, I congratulated myself upon my good fortune, and requested to be sent off to the regiment immediately, but was much disappointed when he told me I could not join for three months, as he had sent off his last recruits only a day or two before. I then walked with him to the rendezvous, where he at once laid down a shilling which I took up, as an earnest that I was willing to serve my king and country in his Majesty's 6th Battalion of Royal Artillery.

After drinking his Majesty's health, and success to his arms, the sergeant asked me to go to a surgeon, who, lived in the High Street, to be examined. So deep was the impression the taunts and mockeries which I suffered in Dundonald had made, that I was afraid I would not pass, and felt a gleam of satisfaction when the surgeon pronounced me a fine, active, healthy young man, able for service. In truth, I was both surprised and delighted to find myself pronounced like the rest of mankind by a competent judge.

Next forenoon, I went cheerfully to David Dale, Esq., Charlotte Street and was attested, on Saturday the 25th April, 1801. This ceremony was to me a very serious thing, as it was done with due solemnity; I looked upon it as a very binding obligation. I was sworn in as born in Glasgow. The sergeant entered me as a day-labourer. At this I remonstrated, but he silenced me by saying that it was his instructions, for all those who had no trade, to be entered as labourers. I was forced to submit, but felt, for the first time, that I had suffered a severe degradation.

As it may be curious to many, I will give a detail of the price I received for this disposal of myself. The bounty was eight guineas, and a crown to drink his Majesty's health. Now I, being an ignorant lad, was open to every imposition. I was to receive five guineas at present, and the other three, intended for regimental necessaries, as soon as I joined the regiment. This I objected to, for I was better furnished in everything, except regimentals, than many an officer: But it was of no avail; the sergeant said, he must abide by his regimental orders.

My five guineas, therefore, I received under the following deductions, viz:--

Bounty " " " " "		£5. 5. 0.
King's health	0. 5. 0.	
Surgical inspection,	0. 1. 0.	
Justice of peace attestation	0. 1. 0.	

Enlistment money	0. 1. 0.	
		8. 0.
		£4.17. 0.

This was the exact sum I received at this time. Whenever I objected to any thing, the sergeant's answer was, it was the rule in the service; and by this same rule he excused all his impositions, such as half-a-crown I had to pay the drummer, for beating the points of war, this was a constant rule, and could not be dispensed with. I must also buy a cockade from him, and a suit of ribbons for his wife; this was also a constant rule. In short, everything was the rule that tended to fleece the poor recruit. These same ribbons for the wife, for instance, were sold regularly to every recruit, as the sergeant always laid them aside for the next occasion. Perhaps they had been bought and sold a hundred times, for any thing I know.

ALEXANDER ALEXANDER

APPENDIX I. A RECRUITING POSTER FOR THE ROYAL REGIMENT OF ARTILLERY.[1]

FINE YOUNG MEN OF RESPECTABLE PARENTS and good character, have an opportunity (if not married or apprentices) of joining the ROYAL ARTILLERY. In which Superior Service they may be made gentlemen and treated accordingly. They must measure 5 feet 8 inches in height and be between Eighteen and Twenty-two years of age. Growing lads not more than seventeen may be admitted. They will all receive the same Liberal Bounty of £5 15s 6d.

On their arrival at Head Quarters they will be taught the art of Riding, Driving, Drawing, Fencing, Gunnery and the Mechanics, the making and use of Gunpowder, Sky Rockets and other Fireworks and by the power of the level to move a 42 pounder Battering Gun with the same facility as a Penny Whistle. The Cannon rised in the Field are called Flying Artillery from the astonishing rapidity of their movements. The Gunners (for so Artillerymen are styled) wear a SPLENDID UNIFORM, and are well mounted on taking the Field.

They are lodged in the finest Barracks in the World. They have Light Work and Good Pay, the best Beef that Kent can afford and a comfortable place in the Barracks called "The Canteen" set apart for them to see their Friends in and take a cheerfull glass; also a splendid Library and Reading Room; a Park and pleasure Grounds, with a select number of Horses for their Instruction and amusement. After their "Education" is completed they will have an opportunity afforded them to Travel to Foreign Countries, Where they may drink their Wine at two-pence per Bottle by the new Tariff!!!

If well conductd they will be promoted to NON-COMMISSIONED OFFICERS from whom the Quartermasters are selected, who are the best paid in the army, and return to their friends with money, manners and Experience!!!

The Rates of Pay of the Royal Artillery are as follows: - per day

Quartermasters	7s 10d
Sergeant Majors	4s 2¼ d
Quartermaster sergeants	3s 8¼ d
Sergeants	from 2s 6¼ d to 3s 0¼ d
Corporals	from 2s 3d to 2s 9d
Bombardiers	from 2s 1d to 2s 7d
Farriers	from 3s 3¾ d to 3s 7¾ d
Collar Makers	from 1s 11¾ d to 2s 3¾ d
Gunner and Drivers	from 1s 4¼ d to 1s 1-¼ d
Shoeing Smiths	from 2s 2¼ d to 2s 6¼ d
Wheelers	from 1s 11¾ d to 2s 3¾ d

Young men wishing to avail themselves of the advantages here offered (With the consent of their Friends and good References) may apply to the Recruiting Sergeant of the Royal Artillery, at the Rendezvous AT THE OLD ANGEL INN TAUNTON

Taunton 8th March 1845

APPENDIX J. GUARD DETAILS IN QUEBEC CITY.[1]

Statement showing the detail of Guards and other duties furnished by the troops in Canada under the Command of General William Eyre KCB during the preceding month Montreal Canada 1st March 1858

Station: QUEBEC

	Guards and other duties	Officers	Sergeants	Corporals	Drummers	Gunners	Privates	Sentries by day	Sentries by night
Guards	Citadel	1	1	2	1	1	12	4	4
	Lewis Gate		1	1		1	6	2	2
	Palace Gate		1	1			6	2	2
	Prescott Gate		1	1		1	6	2	2
	Hope Gate			1		1	6	2	2
	Royal Artillery			1		7		2	2
	Provision Store		1				3	1	1
	Hospital			1			6	2	2
	Johns Gate		1	1			6	2	2
	Regimental Guard 17th Reg.		1	1			9	3	3
	do do 39" do		1	1			9	3	3
Orderlies	To Town Major						1		
	" Qr Mr. General's Department						1		
	" Purveyors do						1		
	Carrying Guards Wood & Candles						1		
	Totals	1	8	11	1	11	73	25	25

APPENDIX K. ARTILLERY EXERCISES: DUTIES OF GUN NUMBERS.[1]

Heavy Artillery Exercise.

S. Spunges
L Loads
V S Serves the Vent
E Elevates
F Fires
R Runs up
T Traverses
P Primes
b brings
p i put in
d Lets down
U Lifts up
M Magazine
St. Shot
W Wads
D Dredges

A Ammunition
Tu Tube
S Shell
W Wedge
P Points
C Commands
Ta Tackle
h helps
M Mantlet
H Hot
p prepares
N by Night
o Or
F Field
B Battery

6 to 12 Por. with M
1 S.U.M.R.Ed M.
2 L.U.M.R.Ed m
3 V p Ta R.T.P.
4 Ta R.T.F.
5 b C.
6 P C. 5M.

6 to 12 Por. with M.N.
1 S U. M. Rd. M.
2 L U. M. Rd. M.
3 s V. p Ta. R.E.P.
4 p Ta. R.E.F.
5 F.C.
6 P C 5M.

6 to a H St.
1 S.R.L. o pi Tu.
2 pi C.W.R L o pi Tu.
3 s V.R. b St. L.
4 R. b. St. L.
5 b C. W.
6 P.F.C. 5M

8 to a 24 Por. B.
1 S
2 L
3)
4)R.E.
5 s V.R.T.P.
6 R.T.F.
7 b C
8 P.C. 7M

9 to H St.
1 S R L
2 pi C W R L
3 s V R E T P
4 R E T
5 b C W
6)
7)b St h L
8 F
9 P C 5M

15 to an 8 In Howtz
1 S D
2 pi C
3 and 4 R
5 and 6 R T
7 S V P

3 to a 24 Por B
1 S R P F
2 b C L R E T
3 s V R T P

5 to 8 In. Howtz. B.

11 to 8 In. Howtz. F.
1 S R D
2 pi C W P.
3 s V R T P.
4 R T F
5)

8 F
10)
12)^b C
9)
11)^b S pi
13)
14)^b A
15 P E C

1 S D h R
2 b C W pi h R
3 b S pi R T P
4 R T F
5 s V P E C

7)^b S pi
6)
8^8 C
9)
10)^b A
11 P E C

10 to Med. 12 Por. F.
1 S h R
2 L h R
3 s V R T
4 R T
5 F
6)
7)^b C h R
8)
9)^b A
10 P E C

ENDNOTES

Introduction

1 Public Archives of Canada (hereinafter PAC), RG8, I, Vol. 744-1768, Royal Artillery (1788-1870).

2 Great Britain, Public Record Office (hereinafter PRO), WO55, Vol. 1195-7, 1223-35 and 1537, Artillery Letters and Letter Books (1773-7, 1810-50).

3 PRO, WO17, Vol. 1489-1578, Monthly Returns (1763-1865); WO73, Vol. 1-11, Monthly Returns Distribution of the Army (1861-71).

4 *General Regulations and Orders for the Army to 1st January 1816* (London: Frederick Muller, 1970); *Standing Orders and Regulations for the Royal Regiment of Artillery at Home and Abroad* (London: J. Hartnell, 1828); *The Queen's Regulations and Orders for the Army* (London: Adjutant General Office, Horse Guard, 1868).

5 G.A. Griffiths, *The Artillerist's Manual and British Soldier's Compendium* (London: W.H. Allen, 1847); *Pocket Companion for the Non-Commissioned Officers of the Detachment of Royal Artillery in Canada* (Quebec, 1805).

6 W.H. Askwith, *List of Officers of the Royal Regiment of Artillery from the Year 1716 to the Year 1899* (London: William Clowes and Sons, 1900).

7 M.E.S. Laws, *Battery Records of the Royal Artillery, 1716-1859* (Woolwich: Royal Artillery Institute, 1952).

The Administration of Artillery Companies

1 In this section we do not consider the administration of the Navy, but only that of the land forces.

2 Charles M. Clode, *The Military Forces of the Crown; their Administration and Government* (London: John Murray, 1869), Vol. II, pp. 316-34.

3 Ibid., Vol. II, pp. 335-59.

4 Ibid., Vol. I, pp. 240-358.

5 *Standing Orders and Regulations for the Royal Regiment of Artillery*..., op. cit., p. 5; the introduction indicates that the regiment is subject to regulations issued under the authority of the commander-in-chief.

6 W.H. Askwith, op. cit., p. 47a and p. 247, No. 1726.

7 PRO, WO55, Vol. 1231, p. 183 (June 7, 1851); Vol. 1235, p. 504 (July 3, 1851); Vol. 1232, p. 120 (July 24, 1854); W.H. Askwith, op. cit., p. 50a.

8 PRO, WO17, Vol. 1564, p. 1 (January 1, 1860); W.H. Askwith, op. cit., p. 58, No. 2106.

9 In 1791 and thereafter Upper and Lower Canada formed two districts. In 1838 Lower Canada was further divided into two districts, Quebec

and Montreal; subsequently Upper Canada was divided into two or three areas with headquarters in Kingston, Toronto and London.

10 Charles M. Clode, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 253-74.

11 Ibid., pp. 181-203.

12 Ibid., pp. 298-303.

13 Ibid., pp. 304-15.

14 Ibid., pp. 204-52; A. Forbes, *A History of the Army Ordnance Services* (London: the Medici Society Ltd., 1929), Vol. I.

15 The position was created in 1795.

16 Except between 1792 and 1822.

17 Until 1836.

18 Charles M. Clode, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 671-73.

19 The position was abolished in 1828.

20 *The Quebec Almanack and British American Royal Kalendar for the Year 1812* (Quebec: Neilson, 1812), p. 90. The almanac provided a yearly list of military officials; this committee was first mentioned in the 1812 edition.

21 Charles M. Clode, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 390-428.

22 Arthur Swinson, *A Register of the Regiments and Corps of the British Army; the Ancestry of the Regiments and Corps of the Regular Establishment* (London: Archive Press, 1972), p. 277.

23 For the years 1740-1859 the figures for the number of companies are taken from M.E.S. Laws, op. cit., pp. 1-296; for 1860-1872 the figures for the number of field and garrison batteries are taken from a table prepared by W.E. Askwith, op. cit., p. 203. These figures do not include troops from the Royal Horse Artillery, Royal Artillery Drivers, cadet companies or coastal batteries.

24 Officers were ranked, in descending order, as follows: colonel, lieutenant-colonel, major, captain, second captain, lieutenant and second lieutenant.

25 For instance, the correspondence between Samuel Cleaveland, the commander of the Royal Artillery in America, and Townshend, Master General of Ordnance, PRO, WO55, Vol. 1537.

26 PRO, WO55, Vol. 1223-1235, Artillery Letters and Letter Books (1810-50).

27 PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 754, pp. 125-131; *see* Appendix D.

28 For example, 5th Battery, 7th Brigade and "D" Battery, 4th Brigade.

29 PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 754, p. 109: Farmers, Shoeing Smiths, Collar Makers, Wheelers.

30 Ibid., Vol. 757, p. 175 (August 13, 1862).

31 Ibid., Vol. 758, p. 28 (September 19, 1862) and Vol. 759, p. 103 (March 25, 1863).

32 The word is used here in a broad sense to describe a large area of the British Empire, possibly a continent or perhaps a single colony, according to the administrative structures of the time.

33 M.E.S. Laws, op. cit., p. 35.

34 Including the West Indies.

35 Madras, Manila, Minorca and Gibraltar.

36 M.E.S. Laws, op. cit., pp. 36-40.

37 Ibid., p. 44.

38 Ibid., p. 69.

39 PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 754, p. 126 (General Order of April 1, 1859).

40 Excluding the companies passing through Quebec City to sail for Britain.

41 Based on data from M.E.S. Laws, op. cit., pp. 1-196. Stays of less than 5 months are not included; *see* Appendix C.

Strength

1 PRO, WO17, Vols. 1489-1493, 1499-1578, Monthly Returns. For the 1786-1831 period the figures provided for Quebec City do not include officers and sergeants; it has therefore been necessary to extrapolate on the basis of figures for the whole of Canada.

2 Idem and WO73, Vols. 8-12. Canada included the provinces of Quebec and Ontario.

3 M.E.S. Laws, op. cit., pp. 1-296. The tables indicate the number of companies on January 1.

4 No figures are available for this period for strength in Canada. Those used relate to North America as a whole.

5 Francis Duncan, *History of the Royal Regiment of Artillery* (London: John Murray, 1874), Vol. 1, p. 169. According to Duncan the artillery companies had an establishment of 106 men in 1757. Allowance being made for losses, there must have been between 60 and 100 men per company.

6 James Alexander Browne, *England's Artillerymen* (London: Hull, Smart and Allen, 1937), p. 25.

7 C.P. Stacey, *Québec, 1759, The Siege and the Battle* (London: Pan Books Ltd., 1959), p. 163.

8. O.F.G. Hogg, *The Royal Arsenal, Its Background, Origin and Subsequent History* (London: Oxford University Press, 1963), Vol. I, p. 311.

9. M.E.S. Laws, op. cit., p. 41, Notes 4 and 29.

10. Crown Point, Oswego, Niagara, Louisbourg, Fort Pitt, Albany and Boston.

11. A. Charbonneau, C. Lacelle and M. Lafrance, *Evolution structurale du parc de l'Artillerie et du bastion Saint-Jean, Québec: 1749-1903.* Manuscript Report Series No. 128 (Ottawa: Parks Canada, 1974), p. 41. The quarters were called 15th Regiment barracks in 1769, 52nd Regiment barracks in 1769 and subsequently artillery barracks.

12. PAC, MG23, A1, Series 1 (Dartmouth Papers), Vol. 6 (June 24, 1775).

13. PRO, WO1, Vol. 2, Pt. 2, p. 248 (November 16, 1775).

14. *Quebec Gazette*, September 21, 1775.

15. Ibid., November 28, 1776: a table of British military strength in the Empire as of 9 July 1775.

16. PRO, WO28, Vol. 7, Pt. 1, p. 52 (July 29, 1776).

17. After the war there was a strength reduction to approximately 60 men per company: Francis Duncan, op. cit., p. 387.

18. The monthly returns of the time indicate the number of men required to bring companies up to strength.

19. These figures are drawn from strength returns for the Halifax artillery company: WO17, Vols. 1507-1512 and 2356, Monthly Returns (1801-6) and Monthly Returns Nova Scotia (1807).

20 PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 744, p. 86 (October 21, 1802), Vol. 1212, p. 48 (July 15, 1805) and Vol. 1213, p. 220 (July 22, 1806).

21 Glenn A. Steppler, Quebec, the Gibraltar of North America? Manuscript Report Series No. 224 (Ottawa: Parks Canada, 1976), p. 60.

22 Montreal, William Henry, Chambly, Saint-John, Amherstburg, Kingston, Niagara or Fort George.

23 Glenn A. Steppler, op. cit., pp. 58-59.

24 Ibid., pp. 60-61.

25 Ibid., pp. 61-67.

26 PRO, WO55, Vol. 1223, p. 161 (July 19, 1812).

27 PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 745, pp. 55-56 (April 6, 1813) and pp. 88-89 (January 1, 1814).

28 Ibid., p. 197 (October 4, 1815).

29 Ibid., Vol. 680, pp. 94-96; Sherbrooke to Prevost (September 1813); Charles H. Stewart, The Service of British Regiments in Canada and North America (Ottawa: Department of National Defence Library, 1962), p. 425; PRO, WO55, Vol. 1223, Pt. 1, p. 97 (July 23, 1816).

30 Ibid., Vol. 1223, p. 231, Glasgow to Macleod (June 30, 1813).

31 Ibid., p. 131, Glasgow to Macleod (January 10, 1812).

32 Ibid., p. 209, Glasgow to Macleod (March 21, 1813).

33 Ibid., p. 1224, Pt. 2, pp. 83-84, Macleod to Sherbrooke (February 22, 1817).

34 Ibid., p. 44, Macleod to Phillot (April 10, 1816).

35 Ibid., p. 196, Macleod to Phillot (August 2, 1820) and Vol. 225, Pt. 2, p. 31, Jones to Phillot (October 3, 1820).

36 PRO, WO55, Vol. 1228, p. 125, Kirby to Dickson (October 23, 1837).

37 Ibid., p. 34, Kirby to Rowan (November 27, 1837).

38 PRO, WO55, Vol. 1228, p. 178, Kirby to Dickson (December 6, 1837).

39 Ibid., p. 181, Kirby to Dickson (December 23, 1837).

40 Gerard William Nicholson, The Gunners of Canada, the History of the Royal Regiment of Canadian Artillery (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1967), Vol. I, pp. 81-82.

41 PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 754, p. 111 (April 1, 1859); see Appendix D.

42 For the number of batteries from 1860 to 1866: RG8, I, Vol. 755-64; 1867-71, PRO, WO73, Vol. 8-12.

43 The Union Navy had seized a British ship in order to arrest the two Confederate commissioners she was carrying.

44 Four batteries of field artillery, and six of garrison artillery.

45 Quebec Mercury, January 11 and 21, 1862.

46 In September 1867, for example, there were 324 artillerymen in Quebec City; PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 1644, pp. 169-70, Galloway to Burgoyne (September 1867).

47 Glenn A. Steppler, op. cit., pp. 147-48.

48 Ibid., pp. 156-57.

49 WO73, Vol. 10.

50 Quebec Daily Mercury, June 9, 1870.

51 L'Evénement, Quebec City, November 19, 1870.

52 Quebec Daily Mercury, November 11, 1871.

53 Journal de Québec, November 10, 1871.

54 Le Canadien, Quebec City, May 13, 1872.

55 PRO, WO17, Vols. 1577-1580.

56 M.E.S. Laws, op. cit., pp. 44-71.

57 However no strength returns are available for the period June-December 1786, except for September 29, 1786.

58 PRO, WO17, Vol. 1579, p. 138 (September 29, 1786).

59 Ibid., Vol. 1499, p. 1 (January 1, 1787).

60 Ibid., Vols. 1537-1540.

61 Ten annually instead of 1.5.

62 *See* Note 1.

63 PRO, WO17, Vols. 1489-1493, 1499-1578, *passim*: Surgeons have been included along with the officers; they made up approximately 10% of the officer corps, except from 1862-65 when, with the veterinarians, they made up 20% of the officer strength. Included among the other ranks are corporals, bombardiers, drummers and privates.

64 W.H. Askwith, op. cit., p. 216; sergeants, farriers and smiths are grouped together on the list of rates of pay, and in monthly returns sergeants and farriers form one group.

65 According to Francis Duncan, op. cit., pp. 251 and 384, in the 19th century there were one corporal and two bombardiers for each sergeant; after the war of 1812 one corporal and one bombardier for each sergeant, PRO, WO55, Vol. 1224, Pt. 2, Macleod to Phillot (April 10, 1816); and after 1859 one corporal and one bombardier for every two sergeants: *see* Appendix D.

66 *General Regulations and Orders for the Army to 1st January 1816*, op. cit., p. 370 (general order of April 10, 1813), *see* Appendix E.

67 It has already been stated in the previous chapter that artillerymen were subject to general army regulations.

68 PRO, WO55, Vol. 1227, p. 33 (July 12, 1830).

69 Ibid., Vol. 1228, pp. 13-15, Godby to Dickson (June 1, 1836).

70 PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 1410, p. 519, Ford to the works director at the War Office (August 22, 1866).

71 Ibid., Vol. 1644, p. 171, Galloway to Burgoyne (September 1867).

72 Ibid., p. 169.

73 Ibid., Vol. 744, p. 58, Wulff to Hunter (June 2, 1801); pp. 78-80, Wulff to Green (May 16, 1802); p. 97, Wulff to Green (March 22, 1804).

74 Ibid., Vol. 1708, p. 48 (September 15, 1813).

75 Ibid., Vol. 1709, pp. 53-54 (February 22, 1814).

76 Ibid., Vols. 747-65, *passim*.

77 Ibid., Vol. 1213, pp. 219-20 (July 22, 1806); *Quebec Mercury*, 10 May 1814.

78 PRO, WO55, Vol. 1225, Pt. I, p. 179 (June 23, 1824); Vol. 1227, p. 6 (July 20, 1830); Vol. 1230, p. 204 (June 12, 1843).

79 Claudette Lacelle, *The British Garrison in Quebec City as Described in the Newspapers from 1764 to 1840*. *History and Archaeology*, No. 23 (1979).

80 PRO, WO55, Vol. 1229, p. 295 (March 25, 1840).

81 Six wives and nine children have been added per 100 men in 1813 and 12 wives and 18 children per 100 men in 1866.

82 In total 25 wives and 50 children per 100 officers, divided by 20.

Rank Structure, Recruiting and Career Profiles

1 *See* Appendix A.

2 After Askwith, op. cit., pp. 1 to 51.

3 PRO, WO55, Vol. 1224, Pt. 1, p. 13, Glasgow to Macleod (March 14, 1815). Glasgow complains that he performed both duties but was only paid for one.

4 Ibid., p. 236 (October 10, 1819).

5 W.H. Askwith, op. cit., pp. 26 and 61.

6 Ibid., p. 23.

7 Ibid., pp. 13 and 67.

8 Ibid., pp. 173-85.

9 *General Regulations and Orders for the Army to 1st January 1816*, op. cit., p. 6.

10 W.H. Askwith, op. cit., p. 216.

11 André Corvisier, *Armée et sociétés en Europe de 1494 à 1789* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1976), p. 172.

12 This is an extract from a table in P.E. Razzel's "Social Origins of Officers in the Indian and British Home Army" in *The British Journal of Sociology*, Vol. XIV, No. 3 (Sept. 1963), p. 253. The author compiled a sample from lists of officers for the years under consideration. Aristocrats include barons and peers; the gentry includes small landowners whose holdings were over 3000 acres but who were not barons; the middle class is made up of small landowners, sons of Church ministers, lawyers, physicians and company directors: *see* Gwyn Harries-Jenkins, *The Army in Victorian Society* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., 1877), pp. 43-46.

13 P.E. Razzel, op. cit., p. 253.

14 Gwyn Harries-Jenkins, op. cit., p. 12.

15 P.E. Razzel, op. cit., p. 255; a table prepared by the author gives the percentage of officers who had inherited a title in 1780, 1810, 1830, 1852 and 1875. It ranges from 2 to 2.5 per cent for the army as a whole, from 0 to 1.5 per cent for the Royal Engineers, from 0.5 to 2.5 per cent for the Royal Regiment of Artillery, and from 0 to 1 per cent for the Royal Marines. For the other elite regiments, the Life Guards, the Grenadier Guards and the Coldstream Guards, the figures fluctuate around 20 per cent.

16 W.H. Askwith, op. cit., p. 14, No. 478.

17 Christina Cameron and Jean Trudel, *Québec au temps de James Patterson Cockburn* (Quebec City: Editions Garneau, 1976), p. 10.

18 Kenneth Brookes, *Battle Thunder, The Story of Britain's Artillery* (London: Osprey Publishing Ltd., 1973), p. 48; PRO, WO55, Vol. 1537, p. 90 (October 23, 1777), Cleaveland announces Pattison's arrival in New York.

19 PRO, WO17, Vol. 1579, p. 22 (June 24, 1785): it is indicated that Captain-Lieutenant John Cockburn had joined the Royal Regiment of Artillery in Quebec City the previous month; he was probably relieved the following year along with the two companies posted there (*see* Appendix C).

20 W.H. Askwith, op. cit., p. 25, No. 887.

21 Ibid., p. 47, No. 1717.

22 Ibid., p. 49, No. 1778.

23 PRO, WO55, Vol. 1226, Pt. I, p. 49, Cockburn to Dickson (March 20, 1828).

24 Archives Nationales du Québec (hereinafter ANQ), Register of Baptisms, Marriages and Burials of the Military Congregation of the Garrison of Quebec, christening of Charles Frederick Cockburn on August 6, 1830.

25 W.H. Askwith, op. cit., p. 62, No. 2251.

26 PRO, WO17, Vol. 1554-5, passim.

27 W.H. Askwith, op. cit., p. 17, No. 593.

28 ANQ, Register of Baptisms, Marriages and Burials of the English Cathedral (Québec), marriage of George Wulff, May 15, 1790.

29 Ibid., christening of Kenelm Chandler Wulff, March 6, 1791; of Munster George Wulff, June 8, 1792; of Caroline Munster Wulff, July 17, 1793; of Henry Powell Wulff, January 9, 1795; and of James George Wulff, June 14, 1796.

30 PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 744, p. 44 (July 24, 1800): Wulff writes to say that he has not seen his family for the last four years.

31 Ibid., p. 100, Wulff to Hunter (April 2, 1804); Lord Camden was to be appointed Secretary of State for War and the Colonies in May 1804.

32 Ibid., p. 106, Wulff to Green (October 11, 1804).

33 W.H. Askwith, op. cit., p. 40, No. 1447.

34 Frederic Boase, Modern English Biography (London: Frank Cass and Co. Ltd., 1965), Vol. III, p. 1526.

35 W.H. Askwith, op. cit., p. 50, No. 1817.

36 The Quebec Almanack..., op. cit., 1838, p. 197.

37 Ibid., p. 198; family relationships are indicated in Frederic Boase, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 1513.

38 W.H. Askwith, op. cit., p. 27, No. 972.

39 Ibid., p. 52, No. 1892; PRO, WO55, Vol. 1230, p. 54, Campbell to Ross (February 9, 1842).

40 Ibid., Vol. 1229, p. 510, Campbell to Ross (September 11, 1841).

41 PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 750, p. 113, Cubitt to Colborne (September 13, 1839); he asks Colborne to intervene on his behalf with the Commander-in-Chief of the British Army.

42 ANQ, Registrar of Baptisms, Marriages and Burials of the Military Congregation of the Garrison of Quebec, marriage of Frederic Hope, January 15, 1829.

43 Ibid., marriage of Frédéric Arabin, May 31, 1823.

44 ANQ, Register of Baptisms, Marriages and Burials of the Metropolitan Church of Quebec, marriage of Bridge, June 13, 1806.

45 Ibid., marriage of Abraham Paul, February 10, 1806.

46 From W.H. Askwith, op. cit., pp. 11 to 91, No. 377-3349.

47 Ibid., p. 19: "Commissioned by Carleton."

48 The Quebec Almanack, op. cit., 1792, 1794; the almanacs for the preceding years do not list military staff.

49 W.H. Askwith, op. cit., p. 23, No. 830, appointed second lieutenant on October 1, 1794.

50 For example, PAC, H1/340, Plans of Survey of the City and Fortifications of Quebec with part of the Environs (1799).

51 Gwyn Harries-Jenkins, op. cit., pp. 103-32.

52 A school for engineers was founded in Chatham in 1814.

53 Gwyn Harries-Jenkins, op. cit., p. 115.

54 Marianne McClean, *The Education of the Royal Engineers*. Research Bulletin No. 23 (Ottawa: Parks Canada, July 1975), p. 4.

55 Ibid.

56 F.A. Griffiths, op. cit., *see* Appendix F.

57 Gwyn Harries-Jenkins, op. cit., p. 116.

58 From W.H. Askwith, op. cit., pp. 11-91, No. 377-3349; the years with fairly similar averages have been considered together.

59 Ibid., p. 117.

60 W.H. Askwith, op. cit., pp. 11-91 and T.W.J. Conolly, *Roll of Officers of the Corps of Royal Engineers from 1660-1898* (Chatham: Royal Engineers Institute, 1898), pp. 10-14.

61 André Corvisier, op. cit., p. 143.

62 Alan Ramsey Skelley, *The Victorian Army at Home: the Recruitment and Terms and Conditions of the British Regular 1859-1899* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1977), p. 334; *see* Appendix G.

63 PRO, WO55, Vol. 1230, p. 68, Campbell to Ross (April 23, 1842).

64 Ibid., Vol. 1229, pp. 234-36, Campbell to Dickson (October 30, 1839).

65 Ibid., Vol. 1231, p. 31, Dyneley to Ross (May 14, 1850).

66 Ibid., Vol. 1223, p. 212, Glasgow to Macleod (April 2, 1813).

67 Ibid., Vol. 1230, p. 66, Campbell to Ross (April 23, 1842).

68 Ibid., Vol. 1225, Pt. I, p. 192, Phillot to Ross (November 11, 1824).

69 Ibid., Pt. II, p. 163, Ross to Phillot (January 5, 1825).

70 Ibid., Vol. 1229, p. 461, Campbell to Ross (May 13, 1841).

71 Ibid., p. 445, Campbell to Ross (March 22, 1841).

72 Ibid., Vol. 1235, p. 141 (June 17, 1847).

73 Th. McGuffie, *Rank and File. The Common Soldier at Peace and War 1642-1914*. London, Hutchinson, 1964, pp. 13-16; see Appendix H.

74 Henry Hime, *History of the Royal Regiment of Artillery 1815-1853* (London: Longmans Green and Co., 1908), pp. 122-23; *see* Appendix I.

75 Th. McGuffie, op. cit., p. 16.

76 Ibid.

77 PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 755, p. 28, Paynter to the Military Secretary (May 28, 1860).

78 Ibid., p. 36, Paynter to the Military Secretary (June 20, 1860).

79 PRO, WO55, Vol. 1223, p. 189, Glasgow to Macleod (October 23, 1812).

80 Henry Hime, op. cit., p. 122.

81 Alan Ramsey Skelley, op. cit., p. 237.

82 PRO, WO28, Vol. 10, p. 156, General Return of the Country, Age, Size and Term of Service of the Detachment of the Royal Regiment of Artillery in Canada.

83 PRO, WO55, Vol. 1227, p. 238 (May 25, 1838). Men five feet, seven inches were allowed to enlist in 1838; Henry Hime, op. cit., p. 122; in 1845 the required minimum was five feet, eight inches; *see* Appendix I.

84 Allan Ramsey Skelley, op. cit., p. 237.

85 PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 759, p. 75, Requisition for Great Coat No. 6 Battery (January 26, 1863); the size of 28 men is indicated, the shortest being five feet, five and three-quarters inches.

86 Allan Ramsey Skelley, op. cit., p. 237.

87 Henry Marshall, *Practical Observations Regarding the Inspection of Recruits for the Army including some Remarks on Feigned Diseases Transmitted to the Army Medical Department* (Dublin: 1826), p. 3.

88 Ibid., p. 35.

89 Table from W.H. Askwith, op. cit., p. 3, No. 73 (Thomas James), p. 14, No. 498 (George Glasgow), p. 25, No. 887 (James P. Cockburn), p. 44, No. 1595 (Daniel Thorndike) and p. 55, No. 2018 (George Lee Chandler).

90 Henry Hime, op. cit., p. 7.

91 *See* beginning of chapter.

92 J.R.J. Jocelyn, *History of the Royal Artillery in the Crimean War* (London: John Murray, 1911), p. 40.

93 PRO, WO55, Vol. 1232, p. 116 (July 3, 1854).

94 Ibid., p. 118.

95 Ibid., p. 129 (August 28, 1854).

96 Ibid., Vol. 1224, Pt. II, p. 98, Baynes to Phillot (June 4, 1817).

97 PAC, MG24, A10, Vol. 19, Correspondence 34, Melbourne, Howick to Melbourne (January 29, 1836).

98 Ibid.

99 PRO, WO55, Vol. 1228, p. 58, Baker to Dickson (November 12, 1836).

100 PRO, WO44, Vol. 646, General Order 565 (November 30, 1842).

101 PRO, WO55, Vol. 1232, p. 153 (October 19, 1854).

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103 *General Regulations and Orders for the Army to 1st January 1816, op. cit., p. 381 (March 15, 1813).*

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106 Ibid.

107 Ibid.

108 Richard L. Blanco, "Army Recruiting Reforms, 1861-1867," *Journal Society for Army Historical Research*, Vol. 46, No. 158, pp. 217-24. London.

109 *See* chapter on troop strength.

110 *Standing Orders and Regulations for the Royal Regiment of Artillery*, op. cit., p. 12, Sect. 6.

111 PRO, WO55, Vol. 1227, pp. 111-12, Cockburn to Dickson (June 6, 1831).

112 Ibid., Vol. 1231, p. 29, Dyneley to Dickson (May 11, 1850).

113 Ibid., Vol. 1223, p. 101, Dalton (October 8, 1811), p. 109, Von Doune and Hay (November 8, 1811).

114 J.R.J. Jocelyn, op. cit., p. 47.

115 PRO, WO55, Vol. 1223, Pt. I, p. 39, Glasgow to MacLeod (November 1, 1810).

116 Idem, Vol. 1225, Pt. I, p. 41, Phillot to MacLeod (June 25, 1821).

117 Idem, Vol. 1224, Pt. II, pp. 51-52, Macleod to Phillot (May 1, 1821).

118 Ibid., pp. 46-50, Macleod to Phillot (May 1, 1816).
119 Ibid., Vol. 1233, p. 41, Dickson to Cockburn to Dickson (August 3, 1832).
120 Ibid., Vol. 1227, Pt. I, p. 161, Cockburn to Dickson (March 13, 1832).
121 Ibid., Vol. 1235, p. 111 (March 29, 1847) and p. 113 (April 8, 1847); Thomas Heagle paid £5 after 12 years' service and with two decorations; Jos Mahon paid £20 after nine years' service and with one decoration; Hislop paid £30, having no decorations.
122 Ibid., Vol. 1231, p. 155 (April 19, 1851).
123 Ibid., Vol. 1230, p. 287 (April 10, 1844).
124 Ibid., Vol. 1235, p. 209 (March 21, 1846).
125 Table from W.H. Askwith, op. cit., pp. 216-18.

Military Duties and Activities

1 Standing Orders and Regulations for the Royal Regiment of Artillery, op. cit., p. 42, Sect. 8 (1828).
2 Ibid., p. 75, Sect. 3.
3 Ibid., p. 12, Sect. 3 and p. 13, Sect. 11.
4 Ibid., p. 11, Sect. 2.
5 Ibid., p. 11, Sect. 1; p. 20, Sect. 4.
6 Ibid., pp. 73-74, Sect. 3.
7 Ibid., p. 11, Sect. 1 and Appendix B.
8 Ibid., Appendix L.
9 PRO, WO55, Vol. 1226, Pt. II, p. 29, Dickson to the Officers Commanding Royal Artillery (March 5, 1828).
10 Ibid., Vol. 1228, p. 107, Godby to Dickson (July 14, 1837).
11 PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 760, p. 186, Benn to the Military Secretary (March 1864).
12 Ibid., Vol. 761, p. 129 (September 7, 1864).
13 Ibid., p. 1 (May 3, 1864).
14 Ibid., Vol. 762, pp. 80 and 105 (1865).
15 Standing Orders and Regulations for the Royal Regiment of Artillery, op. cit., p. 20, Sect. 5 (1828).
16 PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 756, p. 71, Eardley-Wilmot to the Military Secretary (January 23, 1862).
17 Ibid., Vol. 766, pp. 45-47, Maisery to Kennedy (February 14, 1868).
18 Ibid., Vol. 746, p. 157 (June 11, 1805).
19 Ibid., p. 158, Jones to Wilson (May 5, 1818).
20 Quebec Almanack..., op. cit., 1830-33; PRO, WO55, Vol. 1227, p. 74, Cockburn to Dickson (November 20, 1830).
21 Standing Orders and Regulations for the Royal Regiment of Artillery, op. cit., p. 28, Sect. 2 (1828).
22 Ibid., Sect. 5.
23 Ibid., p. 29, Sects. 6 and 7.
24 Ibid., p. 39, Sect. 3.
25 Ibid., pp. 28-29, Sects. 6 and 7.
26 Ibid., p. 31, Sect. 1.
27 Regulations and Orders for the Army, op. cit., p. 175 (August 12, 1811).
28 The Queen's Regulations and Orders for the Army, op. cit., p. 312, Sect. 926 (1868).

29 Ibid., p. 317, Sect. 944.
30 W.H. Askwith, op. cit., p. 173.
31 *General Regulations and Orders for the Army*, op. cit., p. 141, (August 12, 1811).
32 Ibid., pp. 139-40.
33 Ibid., p. 137.
34 Ibid., p. 136.
35 Ibid., p. 139.
36 *Standing Orders and Regulations for the Royal Regiment of Artillery*, op. cit., p. 56, Sect. 14 (1828).
37 PRO, WO55, Vol. 1225, Pt. I, p. 22, Lloyd to Phillot (December 19, 1820).
38 *Standing Orders and Regulations for the Royal Regiment of Artillery*, op. cit., p. 12, Sect. 4 (1828).
39 PRO, WO44, Vol. 48, p. 296 (December 27, 1851).
40 *Standing Orders and Regulations for the Royal Regiment of Artillery*, op. cit., p. 33, Sect. 3 (1828).
41 Ibid., p. 34, Sect. 8.
42 PRO, WO55, Vol. 1228, p. 471, Kirby to Campbell (October 8, 1838).
43 Ibid., Vol. 1226, Pt. I, pp. 215-17. Cockburn to Dickson (December 12, 1829).
44 *Standing Orders and Regulations for the Royal Regiment of Artillery*, op. cit., p. 19, Sect. 1 and p. 33, Sects. 1 and 2 (1828).
45 PRO, WO55, Vol. 1226, Pt. I, pp. 97-98, Cockburn to Dickson (October 27, 1828).
46 Ibid., Pt. II, pp. 57-59, Dickson to Cockburn (January 6, 1829).
47 PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 754, p. 100B, Bingham to the Commander in North America.
48 Ibid., Vol. 758, p. 98, Benn to the Military Secretary (October 27, 1862).
49 *The Queen's Regulations and orders for the Army*, op. cit., pp. 280-85, Sects. 807-31 (1868).
50 PRO, WO55, Vol. 1235, p. 504, Ross to Rowan (July 3, 1851).
51 PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 755, p. 81.
52 PRO, WO55, Vol. 1235, p. 20, Ross to Campbell (November 28, 1845).
53 R.G. Glover, *Peninsular Preparation; the Reform of the British Army, 1795-1809* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963), p. 171.
54 *General Regulations and Orders for the Army*, op. cit., p. 125, (August 12, 1811).
55 PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 759, pp. 108-9 (March 27, 1863).
56 Ibid., Vol. 750, p. 221.
57 Ibid., Vol. 1203, p. 96.
58 Ibid., Vol. 754, pp. 20-21, D'Urban to Bell (August 11, 1856).
59 Ibid., Vol. 696, p. 232 (December 16, 1861).
60 Ibid., Vol. 758, p. 85, Dunlop to the Military Secretary (October 20, 1862).
61 Ibid., Vol. 768, pp. 9-11, Military Secretary to Rodcliff (June 2, 1869).
62 *Journal de Québec*, 10 November 1871.
63 *Le Canadien* (Quebec City), 2 May 1872.

64 *Quebec Mercury*, 26 April 1832.

65 PRO, WO55, Vol. 1227, p. 496, Godby to Dickson (May 20, 1836).

66 Ibid., Vol. 1231, p. 287, Dyneley to the Adjutant General Royal Artillery (May 20, 1836).

67 Ibid., Vol. 1232, p. 182 (May 7, 1855).

68 PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 1203½ O, pp. 1-200 (April 21-September 12, 1815).

69 *General Regulations and Orders for the Army*, op. cit., p. 106 (August 12, 1811) and *Queen's Regulations and Orders for the Army*, op. cit., p. 289, Sect. 841 (1868).

70 *Quebec Mercury*, 21 August 1836.

71 PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 1203½ O, pp. 1-200 (April 21-August 22, 1815).

72 *The Queen's Regulations and Orders for the Army*, op. cit., p. 291, Sect. 847 (1867): *Standing Orders and Regulations for the Royal Regiment of Artillery*, op. cit., p. 12, Sects. 7 and 8 (1828); *Regulations and Orders for the Army*, op. cit., p. 106.

73 *Standing Orders and Regulations for the Royal Regiment of Artillery*, op. cit., pp. 21-22, Sects. 1-5 (1828).

74 Ibid., pp. 23-24, Sects. 2-6.

75 The Town Major was the officer who prepared a list of the guard details to be provided by each regiment as well as the duty roster for officers.

76 *General Regulations and Orders for the Army*, op. cit., pp. 101-3 (August 11, 1811).

77 *The Queen's Regulations and Orders*..., op. cit., p. 293, Sect. 863 (1868).

78 Ibid., p. 292, Sect. 856.

79 PRO, WO17, Vol. 1562, p. 41 (March 1, 1858); *see* Appendix J.

80 PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 751, p. 105, Higgins to the Military Secretary (August 8, 1848).

81 Ibid., Vol. 1203½ O, pp. 1-200 (April 21-August 22, 1815); PRO, WO17, Vol. 1520, Monthly Returns (1815), *see* Table 18.

82 Claudette Lacelle, *The British Garrison in Quebec City as described in Newspapers from 1764 to 1870*. *History and Archaeology*, No. 23 (1979).

83 Ibid., p. 21.

84 PRO, WO55, Vol. 1231, pp. 76-77 (September 18, 1850).

85 *Standing Orders and Regulations for the Royal Regiment of Artillery*, op. cit., p. 65, Sect. 2 (1828).

86 *Quebec Mercury*, 31 Augist 1805, funeral of General Hunter.

87 C.P. Stacey, *Quebec 1759, The Siege and the Battle* (London: Pan Books, 1959), p. 163.

88 F.A. Griffiths, op. cit., pp. VII-XI; *see* Appendix F.

89 *Standing Orders and Regulations for the Royal Regiment of Artillery*, op. cit., p. 14, Sect. 13 (1828).

90 Ibid., p. 87, Sects. 1-3.

91 Ibid., p. 79, Sects. 2 and 3.

92 PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 744, p. 183, Glasgow to Prevost (September 23, 1811).

93 *Standing Orders and Regulations for the Royal Regiment of Artillery*, op. cit., pp. 80-81, Sect. 7 (1828).

94 Ibid., p. 80, Sect. 5.

95 Ibid., pp. 79-80, Sect. 4.

96 PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 755, pp. 139-40, Lord Herbert to the officer commanding the troops (April 12, 1861).

97 Ibid., Vol. 767, p. 46 (September 1, 1868).

98 *Standing Orders and Regulations for the Royal Regiment of Artillery*, op.cit., p. 86, Sect. 14.

99 Ibid., p. 86, Sect. 11.

100 *The Queen's Regulations and Orders for the Army*, op. cit., p. 780, Sect. 166 (1868).

101 *Pocket Companion for the Non-Commissioned Officers of the Detachment of Royal Artillery in Canada*, op. cit., pp. 1-26.

102 *Gazette de Québec*, 14 May 1778.

103 PRO, WO55, Vol. 1232, p. 84 (December 14, 1853).

104 *Quebec Mercury*, 6 March 1827, 19 March 1837, 4 February 1862.

105 PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 756, p. 36, Eardly-Wilmot to the Military Secretary (January 26, 1861).

106 PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 767, p. 32 (October 9, 1868).

107 Ibid., Vol. 768, p. 36 (August 2, 1869).

108 Ibid., Vol. 751, p. 57, Campbell to the Military Secretary (January 21, 1847).

109 *Pocket Companion for the Non-Commissioned Officer*..., op. cit., pp. 22-23, *see* Appendix K.

110 F.A. Griffiths, op. cit., pp. 207-8.

111 A. Charbonneau, C. Lacelle and M. Lafrance, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 146.

112 PRO, WO55, Vol. 1235, p. 410, Ross to Dyneley (July 4, 1850).

113 Ibid., Vol. 1231, p. 272 (April 10, 1852).

114 PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 755, pp. 92-93, Wilmot to the Military Secretary (October 26, 1860).

115 Ibid., Vol. 1409, pp. 249-52 (March 15, 1864).

116 Ibid., Vol. 759, pp. 96-97 (March 17, 1863).

117 W.H. Askwith, op. cit., p. 45, No. 1639; 1818-21, 1827-28, 1830-34 and 1837-40.

118 PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 750, p. 122, Campbell to Rowan (October 4, 1839).

119 Ibid., Vol. 387, p. 51 (April 4, 1813).

120 PRO, WO55, Vol. 1226, Pt. II, p. 49, Dickson to Cockburn (December 3, 1828).

121 Ibid., Vol. 1235, p. 22 (December 23, 1845).

122 Claudette Lacelle, op. cit., p. 20.

123 PAC, RG4, A1, Vol. 429, (December 30, 1834).

124 Examples: *Quebec Mercury*, 30 May 1829, 3 October 1829, 23 February 1830 and 27 August 1835.

125 PRO, WO55, Vol. 1230, p. 415 (July 13, 1845).

126 *Le Canadien* (Quebec City), 25 May 1870.

127 Claudette Lacelle, op. cit., p. 16.

128 PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 1705, p. 1 (December 23, 1786).

129 Ibid., Vol. 1163, 6, *passim* (1787-89).

130 Ibid., Vol. 1163, pp. 223-25 (June 24, 1787), Vol. 1166, p. 202 (November 24, 1789).

131 Ibid., Vol. 1164, pp. 98-100 (November 24, 1788).

132 PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 1209, p. 62 (1801).

133 Quebec Daily Mercury, 9 May 1870.
134 PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 252 (December 23, 1852).
135 Standing Orders and Regulations of the Royal Regiment of Artillery..., op. cit., p. 65, Sect. 3 (1828).
136 PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 748, p. 149 (August 10, 1835).
137 Ibid., Vol. 749, p. 252, Campbell to Rowan (December 13, 1838).
138 PRO, WO55, Vol. 1235, p. 299, Ross to Dyneley (February 7, 1849).
139 Ibid., Vol. 1223, p. 36 (September 19, 1810).
140 PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 762, p. 77 (April 15, 1865).
141 Ibid., Vol. 747, pp. 13-14 (October 8, 1819).
142 PRO, WO55, Vol. 1229, p. 470 (June 12, 1841).
143 PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 764, p. 18 (June 23, 1866); The Queen's Regulations and Orders for the Army, op. cit., p. 153, Sects. 397-99 (1868).
144 General Regulations and Orders for the Army, op. cit., p. 331, (November 14, 1811); Standing Orders and Regulations for the Royal Regiment of Artillery, pp. 109-111 (1828).
145 Regulations Relative to the Employment of Soldiers as Servants to Officers of the Royal Regiment of Artillery (London: J. Hartnell, 1828) pp. 3-12.
146 PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 744, p. 73 (August 14, 1801).

Appendix A
1 List based on our source material, chiefly PRO, WO17, Vol. 1489-1578, Monthly Returns (1763-1865).

Appendix B
1 This list was compiled mainly from the following: PRO, WO55, Vols. 1195-7, 1223-35 and 1537; Artillery Letters and Letter Books (1773-7, 1810-50); PAC, RG8, I, Vols. 744-68, Royal Artillery (1788-1870).

Appendix C
1 Compiled from M.E.S. Laws, op. cit., pp. 1-296.
2 Until 1825 companies bore the name of their captain and their battalion number; the company changed names when its captain was replaced. The name of the company given here is the name it was known under during its first stay in Quebec in the course of a single posting in Canada. After 1825 companies were numbered.
3 In 1859 companies became batteries and battalions became brigades.
4 To fill in the table for 1860-65 we consulted the Quebec City newspapers - the Morning Chronicle and the Quebec Mercury - as well as PAC, RG8, I, Vols. 755-762. Information for the period June 1865-71 was drawn from PRO, WO73, Vols. 6-10.

Appendix D
1 PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 754, pp. 125-26 and 111.

Appendix E
1 General Regulations and Orders for the Army..., op. cit., p. 255 (August 11, 1811).
2 Ibid., pp. 370-71 (April 10, 1813).

3 The Queen's Regulations and Orders for the Army, op. cit., pp. 161-63 (1868).

Appendix F
1 F.A. Griffiths, op. cit., pp. VII-XIV.

Appendix G
1 Alan Ramsey Skelley, op. cit., p. 334.

Appendix H
1 Th. McGuffie, op. cit., pp. 13-16.

Appendix I
1 Henry Hime, op. cit., pp. 122-24.

Appendix J
1 PRO, WO17, Vol. 156, p. 41.

Appendix K
1 Pocket Companion for the Non-Commissioned Officers of the Detachment of Royal Artillery in Canada, op. cit., p. 22. The letters indicate the operations referred to in the code at the beginning of the table; the numbers refer either to the actual number of men in the gun crew or to the "gun numbers" themselves.

Source of Illustrations
1 R.J. Macdonald, The History of the Dress of the Royal Regiment of the Artillery, 1625-1897 (London: Henry Sotheran & Co. [1899]), Pl. 4.
2 Ibid., Pl. 8.
3 Ibid., Pl. 17.
4 The Illustrated London News, 17 February 1849, p. 108.
5 Ibid., Pl. 20.
6 Inventaire des biens culturels du Québec.
7 Quebec Mercury, 28 February 1870.
8 Morning Chronicle (Quebec City), 16 May 1871.
9 Quebec Mercury, 6 July 1805.
10 Public Archives of Canada.
11 Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto.
12 Canadian Illustrated News, Vol. IV, 18 November 1871, p. 324.
13 Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto.
14 Public Archives of Canada.
15 Canadian Illustrated News, 2 December 1871, p. 360.

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RG8, I, Vol. 680, War 1812, September and October 1813.
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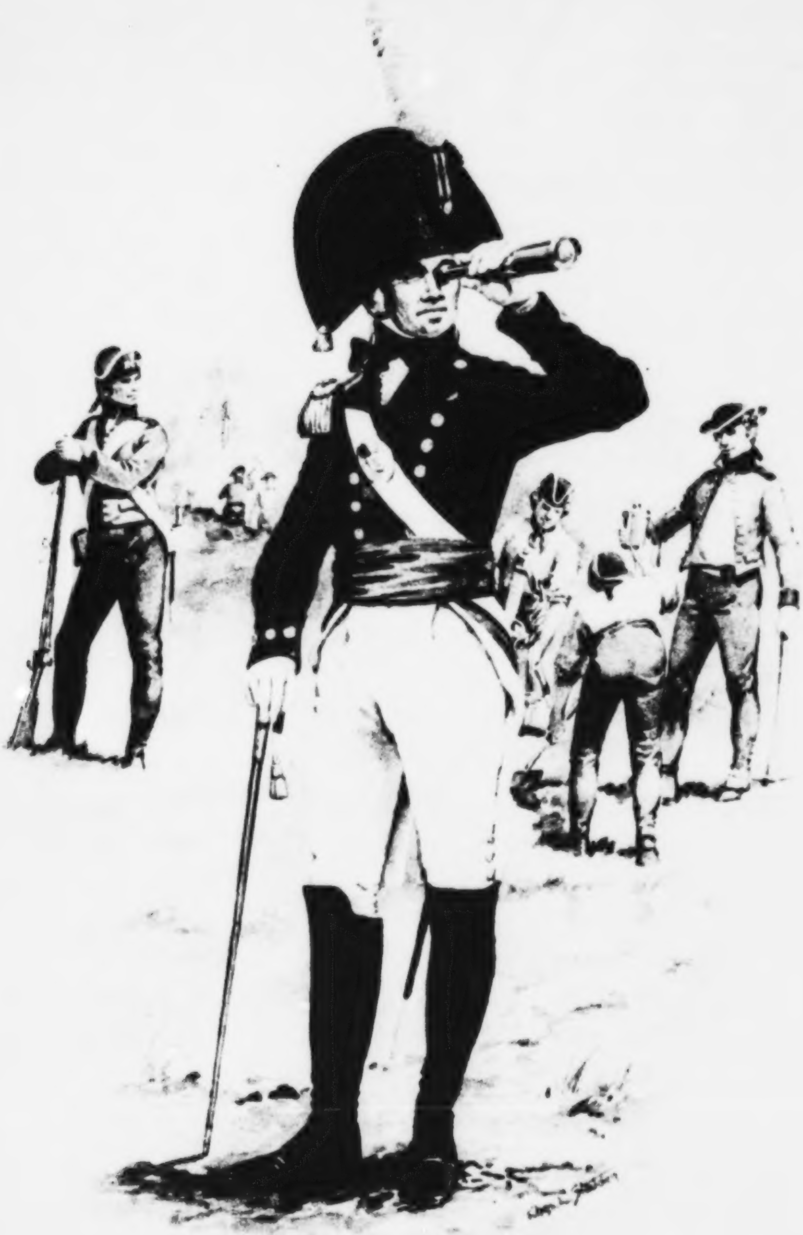

Royal Engineers, officer ca. 1800. Watercolour by Charles Stadden. (Parks Canada)

MILITARY PROPERTY IN QUEBEC CITY, 1760-1871

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ABSTRACT

When the British Army entered Quebec City after its victory over Montcalm in 1759, it established a presence which was to last more than a century and to have a considerable influence on the city and its inhabitants. The army's presence made itself felt in various ways. We have attempted to assess some of these through a study of military property over the period 1760-1871. Two major findings are immediately obvious: first, military property appears to have had an enormous impact on the city's urbanization process; and second, such property provides us with some excellent insights into the Quebec City society of the period.

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We would like to express our gratitude to the archivists of the various archives we visited, as well as to all those who assisted us with their helpful suggestions.

INTRODUCTION

This study of military property in Quebec City is a follow-up to two research papers dealing with the military aspect of the city. The first, which retraced the structural development of Artillery Park, a collection of military buildings occupied by the British Army from the time of the Conquest to 1871, noted the importance of this military aspect of the city and raised the problem of the presence of a garrison in Quebec City.[1] The second study, which developed from the first, used contemporary newspaper articles as the basis for an analysis of the military presence, and discussed the significant impact that the garrison had on the political, economic and social activities of citizens of the period. This impact resulted from the number of military personnel and the size of military holdings. In the 18th century, the garrison accounted for approximately 2,000 persons in a city which, until the turn of the 19th century, had less than 8,000 inhabitants. Later, the proportion was 1,500 military personnel to approximately 15,000 inhabitants in 1819, 31,000 in 1842, and 51,000 in 1861. The military was also very influential because it acquired and occupied an increasing amount of space in the city.[2]

The combination of these two factors led us to examine the problem of military property in the city more closely. First we wanted to know what such property was, how it was acquired and how it was used or disposed of. We then investigated the principles or policies governing the purchase of property as well as their legal implications, and tried to determine the problems inherent in dealing with such property in terms of individuals or groups, the city or the province. Finally, we wondered how the question of military property might have affected the life of the townspeople at that time.

Background

Since it is impossible to dissociate the history of military property from the history of the city itself, we will now summarize the major developments,[3] using the Conquest as our starting point. As soon as they arrived in the city, British authorities appropriated the fortifications and their glacis, the King's wharves, the Intendant's Palace, the Esplanade and the Château Gardens, as well as the buildings used to house troops: the Jesuit College, the Artillery Barracks, and the King's and Dauphine redoubts. Then, up until the American War of Independence, which resulted in a new wave of acquisitions, nothing more was appropriated. It was then that the problem of fortifying the city became a matter of great concern, and the Royal Engineers vigorously criticized the obvious inadequacies. Furthermore, following the war, headquarters were transferred to Quebec from New York, and offices had to be provided. British authorities therefore began to buy some land to free the glacis area, and tried to rent or buy already constructed properties which could serve as officers' quarters or offices.

A short period of peace was followed by the Napoleonic Wars, which were to have a major impact on the city's development.[4] A hasty effort was made to improve defences; the Martello towers[5] were constructed and the lands adjoining Grande-Allée in the south were appropriated. The War of 1812 confirmed their necessity and Britain's stunning victory in Europe enabled the problem of the country's defence to be reconsidered. This was the dawning of the most active period, when the Citadel was constructed and large tracts of land were acquired - the Villeray and Marchmont fiefs, the land for Towers Three and Four, and the lots for the Citadel glacis. Military property in Quebec City had reached its peak and accounted for more than a quarter of the city (Fig. 12).

However, this peak period was not to last. The turning point came as early as the Rebellion of 1837. Subsequently, the two Canadas were united, and the headquarters of the British Army was moved to Montreal, which had in reality replaced Quebec City as the administrative and economic capital. Another important factor was that Quebec City had at the same time received another charter of incorporation which, unlike the first, established a powerful municipal administration capable of standing up to the remaining military authorities. From this decade on almost all land acquisition proposals remained just that, proposals.

In later years, military property in Quebec City attracted little attention. Too many problems preoccupied the military authorities in the country: the Oregon question in the forties and the Crimean War in the fifties. It was not until the War of Secession and the Fenian invasion in the sixties that the question was reconsidered.[6] However, this time, the context was entirely different. Canada was already entering the Confederation era and had begun to assume responsibility for its own defence. Military property in Quebec City was turned over to the new government, and the troops left the city.

Sources

We visited several archives in Ottawa and Quebec City for research purposes. At the Public Archives in Ottawa, we consulted contemporary maps and plans, official correspondence, military documents, files relating to land in Lower Canada and papers of some individuals, such as Monk, Dalhousie and Sewell. At the archives of the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, we examined titles and voluminous correspondence about federal properties in Quebec City. In Quebec City, we conducted research at the National Archives (the fonds Domaine du Roi, Department of Highways, Attorney General, Army and Militia and Courts of Law), at the official archives (correspondence of the Provincial Secretary, and surveys) and at the city archives (survey plans and documents of justices of the peace, City Council of the Quebec City Corporation, road plans and so on).

To this mass of documentation, we should have added the censuses, the documents of the 1868-71 sessions, the archives of several departments,[7] the registers of Quebec notaries of the time,[8] the archives of religious communities and the enormous files on Jesuit holdings, which are to be found almost everywhere; however, we had to forego the use of such documents, because circumstances forced us to complete the research before the scheduled deadline.

As a result, we have had to limit the scope of our research and define the term military property more narrowly. We have therefore excluded all personal military property and some of the components that we had considered at the outset. Consequently, we have not dealt with two important aspects of the military presence in Quebec City: first, the immense properties that certain military personnel, as individuals, occupied in the surrounding countryside,[9] and second, the houses in the city inhabited by the families of military personnel over these years.[10] In short, we have only considered as "military property" that which the military authorities as such acquired in the name of the British Parliament for the defence of Quebec, during the period between the Conquest and the departure of British troops in 1871.

MILITARY PROPERTY IN QUEBEC CITY

In spite of the wealth of available documentation, it was not easy to reconstitute military property in Quebec City. The first major difficulty we encountered was the fact that, prior to 1820, military property was never identified as such. The word "government" was used in all its nuances, and lands or properties occupied for defence purposes were rarely distinguished from other Crown lands. In fact, military property does not seem to have been considered as a separate entity until it was recorded in the *Ordnance* in 1820-30[1], the period in which Great Britian reconsidered the problem of the defence of Canada and started new fortifications.[2]

As a result, the Royal Engineers henceforth regularly compiled inventories of the property for which they were responsible. We were able to use the inventories of 1826[3], 1831[4], 1841[5], 1851[6], and 1871[7]. However these inventories pose a variety of difficulties. For example, the first dimensions on record date from 1826, by which time almost all of the properties had already been acquired. Furthermore, it was only in 1851 that details were given on the surface area of the walls, the glacis and the Citadel. Sometimes even the dimensions of the same property differ considerably from one date to another because they do not always refer to the same components: for example, the property which in 1871 extended from the west wall of the Citadel to Towers One and Two was said to cover approximately 100 acres,[8] whereas in earlier inventories it was subdivided into many portions, each corresponding to the various transactions carried out to obtain it. Similarly, Artillery Park, which covers two acres, was at one time assessed as covering 13, because the glacis and the cliff were also included[9] (Figs. 7 and 14). Prior to 1841, dimensions were usually calculated in arpents, whereas after that time they were in acres.

Other difficulties arise from the various components of a property, especially in cases of acquisitions made well before the inventories were prepared. For this reason, it is impossible to confirm that the list of lots making up the glacis outside the Saint-Jean Gate is complete, and information on transactions carried out in the 18th century is even more sketchy. At times, such information is in fact contradictory. For example, the property called "King's Field" was described by Durnford in 1826 as comprising two acres and having been purchased by one Jenkin Williams for the sum of £121 sterling,[10] whereas in 1831, this same property was again assessed by the same man as having five and a quarter acres and having been acquired on the same date - 5 July 1781 - by Richard Murray for the sum of £130 sterling.[11] In fact, it is the same property. On 5 July 1781, Richard Murray bought Williams' property which comprised five and one-half arpents, and turned it over on July 14 to the authorities who claimed it from him.[12] We would like to point out that the dimensions quoted by Durnford in 1831 implied a second transaction which we have included in the reconstituted table (*see* Figs. 5 and 7).

Lastly, another major difficulty is that the inventories fail to provide all the answers. For example, purchase prices are not always mentioned and, when they are, it is not always clear if they are expressed in Halifax currency or in pounds sterling. Similarly, nothing is said about the length of transactions, the development of lots before or after acquisition, or the lots obtained prior to 1871.

Nevertheless, with the help of these inventories and the mass of documentation we consulted, we have attempted to reconstruct a portrait (Table 1) of British military property in Quebec City from 1760 to 1871[13] on the basis of four spatial divisions: the fortifications, the lower town, and the upper town inside and outside the walls. We have also included all the information we were able to glean about the surface area of the property, the other party to the transaction, the length of the transaction, the date and the method of acquisition, the cost, date and method of disposal. Properties have been subdivided according to the known transactions and the dimensions have been calculated where possible to the nearest quarter of an acre. Each property is preceded by a letter enabling it to be identified in Figure 14. The abbreviations used under "method of acquisition" represent the following terms: purchase (P), purchase of lease (Pl), conquest (C), exchange (E), expropriation (Ex), rental (R) and occupation (Oc). The small "s" and "h" under "price in pounds" indicates whether it was a case of pounds sterling or of Halifax currency. The letters r.f.g. and C.M.H. under the heading "method of disposition" represent "returned to the federal government" and "Canadian Military Hospital" respectively; the asterick indicates that further clarification is given for the designated item. These details appear in descending order after the table.

Walls and glacis. This expression covers all walls, ramparts or glacis. The figure of 60 was taken from the 1851 inventory and we feel justified in applying it to 1760 as well. In fact the document separately inventories the bastions, which totalled approximately two acres, the same area as the total for all transactions relating to the glacis during the period 1760-1847. The quite justified objection may be raised that we are unable to confirm this figure as truly reflecting all the transactions in question. However, the very nature of the property supports this number. Maps dating from the beginning of the British regime show clearly that the glacis was virtually empty and that authorities did not immediately set out to define or set its boundaries (Fig. 5). Moreover, the inconsistency of the military regime's acquisition policy at the time leads us to believe that other glacis may have existed. In short, we doubt that it will ever be possible to establish a similar table with completely accurate dimensions. Our purpose here is to provide as close an approximation as possible, and we do not deny that our total of 449 acres could be off by two or three acres either way.

Côte de la Montagne lot. An 1855 document[14] gives the purchase date of the two Crebassa lots as 1796, and we have adopted this date.

Table I. Military properties in Quebec, 1760-1871[13]

Property	Acres (449)	Signatory	Duration (yrs)	Date	Method of Acquisition	Cost in Pounds	Date	Method of Disposal
Fortifications								
A Walls and glacis*	60	France	-	1760	C	-	1871	r.f.g.
Poudrière H.-D.	1/4	Hôtel-Dieu	?	1809	P	270 s	1871	"
Côte de la Montagne lot*		Crebassa H.	?	1781	P	250 h	1871	"
Lot near Château	1/4	Crebassa H.	?	1781	P		1871	"
Lot near terrace*		Bonnefield, Wid.	?	1781	P	40 h	1871	"
Glacis, St-Jean Gate		Bélanger, J.	17	1814	Ex	500 h	1871	"
-		Gauvreau, J.	17	1814	Ex	?	1871	"
-	1/2	Stanley, G.	3	1815	Ex	855.10 h	1871	"
-		Anderson, A.	2	1817	Ex	200	1871	"
-	1	Gauvin, E.	?	1847	P	3222 h	1871	"
-		Voyer, Wid.	?	1847	P	?	1871	"
-	1/4	Prévost, Wid.	?	1847	P	?	1871	"
Lots at foot of escarpment	3	29 owners	2	1847	P	32540	1871	"
B Citadel*	26	France	-	1760	C	-	1871	"
Citadel glacis*	27 1/2	France	-	1760	C	-	1871	"
Carrières St. Lot*		Jourdain, M.	18	1822	Oc	76	1871	"
-	1/4	Jourdain, C.	18	1822	Oc	76	1871	"
8 lots, St-Denis St.	1/4	Van Cortlandt	3	1828	Ex	3000 s	1871	"
-		Petitclair, J.	3	1828	Ex	1560 s	1871	"
-		Petitclair, G.	3	1828	Ex	563.6.8s	1871	"
-		Petitclair, C.	3	1828	Ex	433.6.8s	1871	"
-	1/2	Levasseur, P.	3	1828	Ex	281.13.4	1871	"
-		Moisan, J.	3	1828	Ex	281.13.4	1871	"
-		Moisan, Wid.	2	1827	Ex	563.6.8s	1871	"
-		Langan, Wid.	3	1828	Ex	520.10s	1871	"
5 lots near glacis	1/4	Cannon, J.	6	1831	Ex	1000 s	1871	"
-	1/4	Irvine, J.G.	4	1829	Ex	3500 s	1871	"
-	1/4	Smith, Wm.	5	1830	Ex	1200 s	1871	"
-	1/4	Clapham, J.	4	1829	Ex	4400 s	1871	"
-	1/4	Sewell, juge	5	1830	Ex	2400 s	1871	"
Lower Town								
C Inclined-plane wharf	2 1/4	Renaud, J.	?	1781	P	99.2.1½	1871	"
D King's Wharf - river*	3/4	France	-	1760	C	-	1872	"
E Palace Harbour*	8 1/2	France	-	1760	C	-	1819 1832 1852	3/4 acre sold 1 acre ceded to the city balance ceded to the city
F King's Wood Yard	4 3/4	France	-	1760	C	-	1820	ca. 1/2 acre sold
Lot near Palace	1/2	Paynter, J.	?	1796	P	200.5.6	1871	r.f.g.
St. Vallier St. lot	3/4	Hay, J.	?	1821	P	1250	1822	sold as a whole
Upper Town, inside walls								
G Royal Engineer's Yard	1 1/4	France	-	1760	C	-	1871	r.f.g.
H Esplanade*	4	France	-	1760	C	-	1871	"
I Artillery Park	2	France	-	1760	C	-	1871	"
J King's Redoubt	1/4	France	-	1760	C	-	1871	r. prov. g.
K Jesuit Barracks	5 1/4	Jesuits	-	1760	C	-	1871	r.f.g.
L Château Gardens*	1	France	-	1760	C	-	1871	"
Carrières St. lot	1/4	Parisien, E.	?	1782	P	132.1.3	1871	"
-	1/4	Smith, R.	1/4	1817	P	1170 s	1871	"
Lot near Gardens*	1	Holland, S.	-	1766	Oc	-	1871	"
M Commissariat	1/2	Bréhaut, P.	?	1815	P	4410 s	1871	"
N Mount Carmel	1/2	Pownall, G.	?	1780	P	400 h	1871	"
O Officers' Quarters	1 1/2	Elmsley, judge	?	1811	P	4000 s	1871	"
Upper Town, outside walls								
P Bandon Lodge	2 3/4	Stewart, J.	8	1835	E	Marchmont	1871	"
Q King's Field*	5	Murray, R.	?	1781	Ex	130 s	1818	½ acre exchanged for ¼
Lot south of King's Field	3/4	Ferguson, A.	1/4	1818	E	¼ acre K.F.	1871	r.f.g.
R Villeray Fief	31	Ferguson, A.	1/4	1819	P	9000	1871	"
S Ursuline Nuns' Property*	3 1/2	Ursulines	?	181?	R		1871	"
T Lampson - south of Nun's property	8 1/4	Ferguson, A.	1/4	1819	PL		1871	"
Lot of Ursulines at towers	20	Lampson, Wm.	3	1842	Oc	13151.1s	1871	"
U Towers 1 and 2	7 1/4	Ursulines	7	1811	Oc	90	1860 1871	1 acre given to C.M.H. r.f.g.
Lot to the south	12 1/2	Moorhead, J.	18	1822	Oc	350 h	1852	Returned to the Corporation
V Exercising Grounds	71 3/4	Ursulines	?	1802	R	25/yr	1871	r.f.g.
W Marchmont	69	Harvey, J.	1	1827	P	5000 s	1835	Exchanged Bandon Lodge
X Cricket Field	1 1/2	Stewart, J.	8	1835	E	Marchmont	1871	r.f.g.
East lot	4 1/4	Panet, L.	16	1846	P	3500 h	1871	"
North lot		Joly, G.	42	1847	P	6150 h	1871	"
Y Tower 3 - north*	21 1/4	Anderson, J. Bélanger, J.	1	1822	PL	2500	1871	"
Lot to the north	1/4	Anderson, J.	1/4	1824	E	Pasture	1871	"
Tower 3 - south	15 1/4	Coffin, T.	1/4	1822	PL	1811	1871	"
Z Tower 4*	18 1/4	Taylor, N.	9	1822	Oc	1908	1871	"

Lot near the terrace. This lot, which belonged to the widow Bonnefield (or Bonfield), deserves some attention because, contrary to other lots which were in some way integrated into a specific property, this one was always considered as "widow Bonnefield's lot." It was identified as such on maps from the time the site of the Château was being discussed.[15] We even thought at one time that perhaps another property had been bought in the fifties, but the fact that the 1871 inventory refers to the widow Bonnefield's lot acquired in 1781 made us decide differently.

Citadel. What we call the Citadel in this paper is, of course, only the site of the future Citadel, since the latter was not built until the twenties.

Citadel glacis. The figure of 27 1/2 was deducted from the 30-acre figure appearing in the 1851 inventory because we know all the steps involved in establishing the glacis. The acquisition file, of some 400 pages, seems very complete, and we doubt that other appropriations were negotiated at a later date.

Lot on des Carrières Street. Each time a lot was occupied by the military it was occupied "manu militari"; we have considered the date of occupation as being the date of acquisition instead of the date on which compensation was paid. For example, in the case of the Jourdain brothers, the military occupied the land in 1804 and "paid" for it 18 years later, in 1822. In our calculations, we therefore included this property in the 1800-10 decade, as we did for all properties acquired in this manner.

King's Wharf. The King's Wharf to which we refer here was the wharf facing the river. The other King's Wharf formed part of Palace Harbour. With Victoria's accession to the throne it became the Queen's Wharf. The terms tend to be quite confusing; at the time there was also a Queen's Wharf, which became the Napoleon Wharf and, to complicate matters still further, we find a King's Wharf again in 1851. This, in fact, is how the wharf was identified on the plan, because it was rented to a Mr. King. Moreover, on maps produced after 1867,[16] the Queen's Wharf was shown as being an acre larger (Fig. 15). By examining the maps more closely, we see that this is because the customs building land was included in the calculations. This building was part of the properties which became federally owned under Section 108 of the British North America Act.[17] We have therefore omitted this acre, since it was not part of the military properties as such. We would also note that this property was not returned at the same time as the others, but shortly thereafter.

Palace Harbour. This property was contested. The people living there claimed to have been granted the concession by the Récollets; the military said that it had a right to the land because of its strategic position, and the provincial government claimed responsibility for it as well. However, since the military actually occupied the property, and inventoried it from the outset, we have considered it as military until such time as it was transferred to the Corporation in 1852 (Fig. 8).

Esplanade. In 1760 the Esplanade as such had not yet been developed. The land had been expropriated, but it is only on maps dating from 1783 or later that it began to look somewhat as we know it today.

Château Gardens. It is difficult to speak of disposal of this property, since it was attached to the Durham terrace and the issue is still a matter of dispute. Several documents dealing with the problem are with the Department of Justice, and are not easily accessible. In any event, problems that arose after 1871 have no effect on the period we are discussing.

Lot near the Gardens. A long article could be devoted to this lot alone, which belonged to Holland. The military seized it in 1766. The heirs claimed compensation, and at the end of the 19th century, the case was still in litigation.[18]

Ursuline Nuns' Property. This land, which the military authorities rented from the Ursulines, probably at the same time as they cleared up the dispute over Towers One and Two, was leased until 1852. Upon expiry of the lease, they bought the land from the Lampson creditors (Lampson had bought the right to lease) for £3150.10[19], and therefore continued to occupy the land until it was turned over to the federal government in 1871.

Tower Three. This area changed between 1841 and 1871.[20] It went from 36 acres in 1841 to 37 acres in 1851 and to 36 3/4 acres in 1871. Since we know of no transactions other than the 21 acres acquired from Anderson and Bélanger in 1822, the 15 acres obtained from Coffin the same year, and the quarter of an acre exchanged in 1824, we thought it wise to add a quarter of an acre to the 21 and 15. It seemed to us that the 1871 inventory should take precedence over the others because, given the circumstances, it was probably done very carefully. The discrepancy may result from the fact that the tower site was sometimes considered to be freehold property and therefore separate from the rest of the land.

Tower Four. The military inventories state that a quarter of an acre of the property was theirs in perpetuity by freehold, whereas the rest was leased until 1889.

In light of these comments, we present Table 1 with reservations. We, more than anyone else, are conscious of its limitations. However, since its limitations are much the same as those revealed by the documentation, we believe we should try to put it to good use. The missing elements would have to be very significantly different or very numerous to diminish either the validity or the interest of the findings.

Findings

The findings cover a broad range of subjects and we have considered them from all possible angles - as a whole, by decade, by sector, by methods and dates of acquisition and, finally, by methods of disposition.

It appears that between 1760 and 1871, 449 acres were acquired, of which 114 1/4 (31.46%) were acquired by right of conquest. Of this total, 356 (79.29%) were turned over to the federal government when the British troops left. With the exception of the period immediately following the Conquest, these acquisitions were made particularly during the period from 1800 to 1830, as shown in the following table. *See also* Appendix A, Figure 1.

Table 2. Number of acres acquired from 1760 to 1871

Date	Number of Acres	% of Total Holdings	Total Acreage	% of Total Holdings
1760	142 1/4	31.68	142 1/4	31.68
1770	0	0	142 1/4	31.68
1780	8 1/4	1.84	150 1/2	33.52
1790	1/2	.11	151	33.63
1800	92	20.49	243	54.12
1810	64 1/2	14.36	307 1/2	68.48
1820	108	24.05	415 1/2	92.53
1830	25	5.57	440 1/2	98.10
1840	8 1/2	1.90	449	100.

Acquisition made between 1800 and 1830 represent approximately 59% of the total. This figure is even more significant when one considers that the Conquest accounted for more than 31% of the acreage. It means that only 10% of the property was acquired over all the other years.

The very few disposals of holdings follow ten years later. *See also* Appendix A, Figure 2.

Table 3. Number of acres disposed of from 1760 to 1871

Date	Number of Acres	% of Total Holdings	Total Acreage	% of Total Holdings
1810	1 1/2	.33	1 1/2	.33
1820	1 1/4	.28	2 3/4	.61
1830	70	15.59	72 3/4	16.20
1840	0	.0	72 3/4	16.20
1850	19 1/4	4.29	92	20.49
1860	1	.22	93	20.71

The table indicating possession follows. *See also* Appendix A, Figure 3.

Table 4. Number of acres held from 1760 to 1871

Date	Number of Acres	% of Total Property	Total Acreage	% of Total Property
1760	142 1/4	31.68	142 1/4	31.68
1770	0	0	142 1/4	31.68
1780	8 1/4	1.84	150 1/2	33.52
1790	1/2	.11	151	33.63
1800	92	20.49	243	54.12
1810	63	14.03	306	68.15
1820	106 3/4	23.77	412 3/4	91.92
1830	-45	-10.02	367 3/4	81.90
1840	8 1/2	1.90	376 1/4	83.80
1850	-19 1/4	-4.29	357	79.51
1860	-1	-.22	356	79.29

These 449 acres were very unequally distributed within the city: 121 1/4 acres (27%) formed part of the fortifications, 17 1/2 acres (3.90%) were in Lower Town, 17 3/4 acres (3.95%, were within the walls of Upper Town, while the remainder, 292 1/2 acres (65.15%) were in Upper Town outside the walls. Almost half of the latter acreage (140 3/4 acres) consisted of two properties - Marchmont, 69 acres and the Exercising Grounds 71 3/4. These were located outside of the area designated as the city limits at the time. Excluding these two properties, the total remaining acreage represented no less than 28% of the total city area in 1830, the time when the military held the largest number of acres.[21]

It therefore seems obvious that acquisition efforts were concentrated outside the walls of Upper Town, a fact that becomes even more evident if the acres acquired by conquest are excluded. Of the 307 3/4 remaining acres, 7 3/4 made up part of the fortifications, 3 1/2 were in Lower Town, 4 in Upper Town within the walls and 292 1/2 in Upper Town outside the walls. Respectively, these numbers represent 2.52%, 1.14%, 1.30% and 95.04% of the total acreage acquired by means other than conquest.

The distribution of acreage by acquisition methods is very interesting. We find that 141 1/4 acres were acquired through conquest (31.46%), 115 1/2 acres through purchase (25.72%), 44 3/4 acres through purchase of lease (9.97%), 7 3/4 acres through expropriation (1.72%), 59 1/4 acres through occupation (13.19%), 5 1/4 acres through exchange (1.17%) and 75 1/4 acres through rental (16.76%). In other words, nearly 200 acres (approximately 44% of all acquisitions) were obtained forcibly. This total represents all acquisitions made by conquest and occupation. Distribution by decade is as follows:

Table 5. Number of acres acquired and methods of acquisition

Date	Conquest	Purchase	Purchase of Lease	Expropriation	Occupation	Exchange	Rental
1760	141 1/4	-	-	-	1	-	-
1770	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1780	-	3 1/4	-	5	-	-	-
1790	-	1/2	-	-	-	-	71 3/4
1800	-	1/4	-	-	20	-	3 1/2
1810	-	33 1/4	8 1/4	1/2	18 1/4	3/4	-
1820	-	69 3/4	36 1/2	1 1/2	-	1/4	-
1830	-	-	-	3/4	20	4 1/4	-
1840	-	8 1/2	-	-	-	-	-

It was also revealing to consider the number of transactions as related to the number of acres acquired. In this context, a single transaction corresponds to a single lot. Thus, "Conquest" is counted as comprising twelve transactions because twelve different properties were involved. By decade, these transactions were as follows:

Table 6. Number of transactions and methods of acquisition

Date	Conquest	Purchase	Purchase of Lease	Expropriation	Occupation	Exchange	Rental
1760	12	-	-	-	1	-	-
1770	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1780	-	6	-	1	-	-	-
1790	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
1800	-	1	-	-	4	-	1
1810	-	4	1	4	1	1	1
1820	-	2	2	10	-	1	-
1830	-	-	-	3	1	2	-
1840	-	34	-	-	-	-	-

For a comparison of the methods of acquisition in terms of the acres acquired and transactions carried out, *see* Figure 1. Purchase and expropriation transactions, which are the most numerous and together represent more than 70% of all transactions, account for only approximately 27% of the acres acquired. This is less than the number acquired by conquest and no more than that acquired by purchase of lease and by rental, these last two categories accounting for only 5 % percent of all transactions.

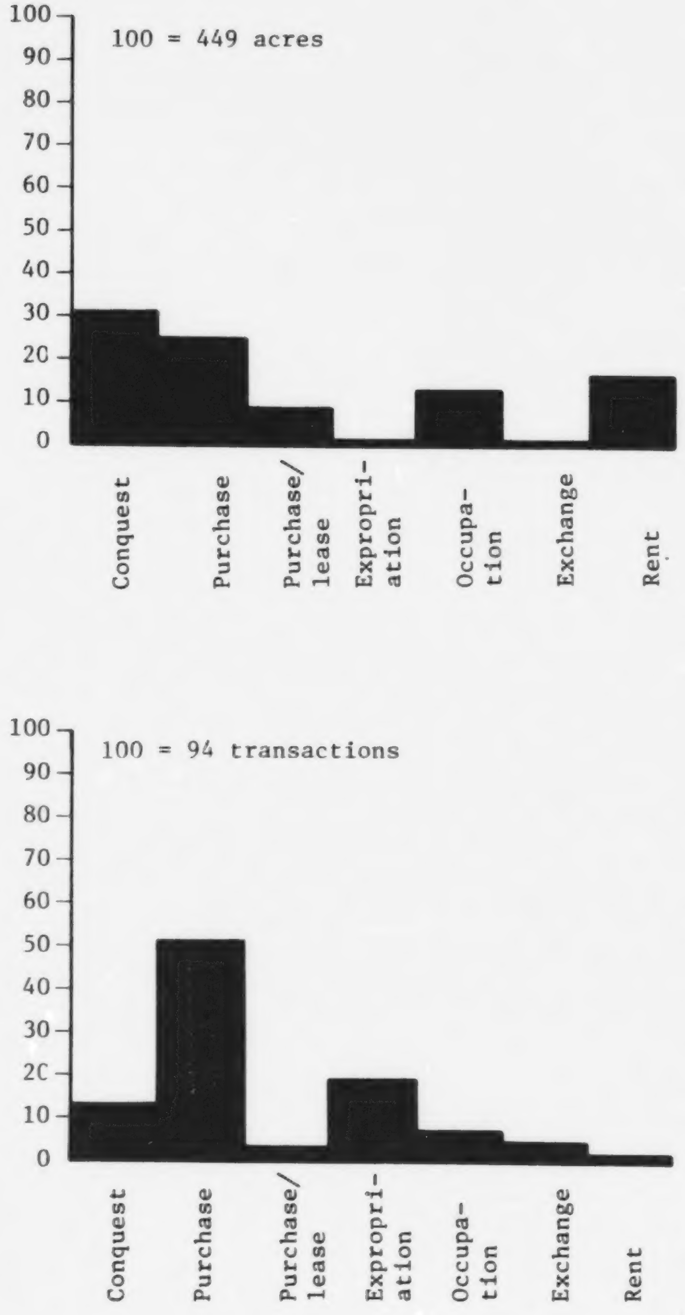

Figure 1. Number of acres of transactions according to methods of acquisition.

We also calculated the time elapsed from the first mention of a possible transaction to the date on which it was completed. Here, as elsewhere, we have considered the acquisitions in terms of the total acreage and the number of transactions. Acreage acquired by conquest has been excluded, although such acreage would be in the one-year-or-less category. We have also excluded the 88 1/4 acres - 17 transactions - for which there is no indication of the time that elapsed. In our total, however, we have considered them as having taken one year or less, assuming - perhaps mistakenly - that if these transactions had taken several years, some type of document would exist. Our categories were dictated by the documentation available to us. For this reason, we have divisions of one year or less, two and three years, four and five years, six and seven years, eight and nine years, 16 to 18 years, and 40 years and more.

Table 7. Duration of acquisition process

Time Elapsed	Number of Acres	Number of Transactions
Conquest	141 1/4	12
Unknown	88 1/4	17
1 year or less	147	8
2 and 3 years	23	40
4 and 5 years	1 1/4	4
6 and 7 years	7 1/2	2
8 and 9 years	22 1/2	3
16 to 18 years	15	6
40 years and more	3 1/4	2

For purposes of comparison, we have changed these figures to percentages and have combined certain categories (Fig. 2). When acreages are compared, we can see that 84% were acquired in one year or less, but that 39% of all transactions took place over the same period. If transactions or acreages relating to the Conquest are excluded, proportions change very little. In terms of acreage, these proportions are 76% and 24% (of the 307 3/4 acres which remain) for periods of one year or less and two years or more, whereas in terms of transactions (82) these proportions are 30% and 70% respectively. This figure is significant because the 70% affected most people dealing with the military. Throughout the entire period numerous complaints were made about losses suffered by one individual or another, as a result of the length of transactions and the fact that such individuals were unable to improve their property or sell it to another party as long as negotiations with the military continued.

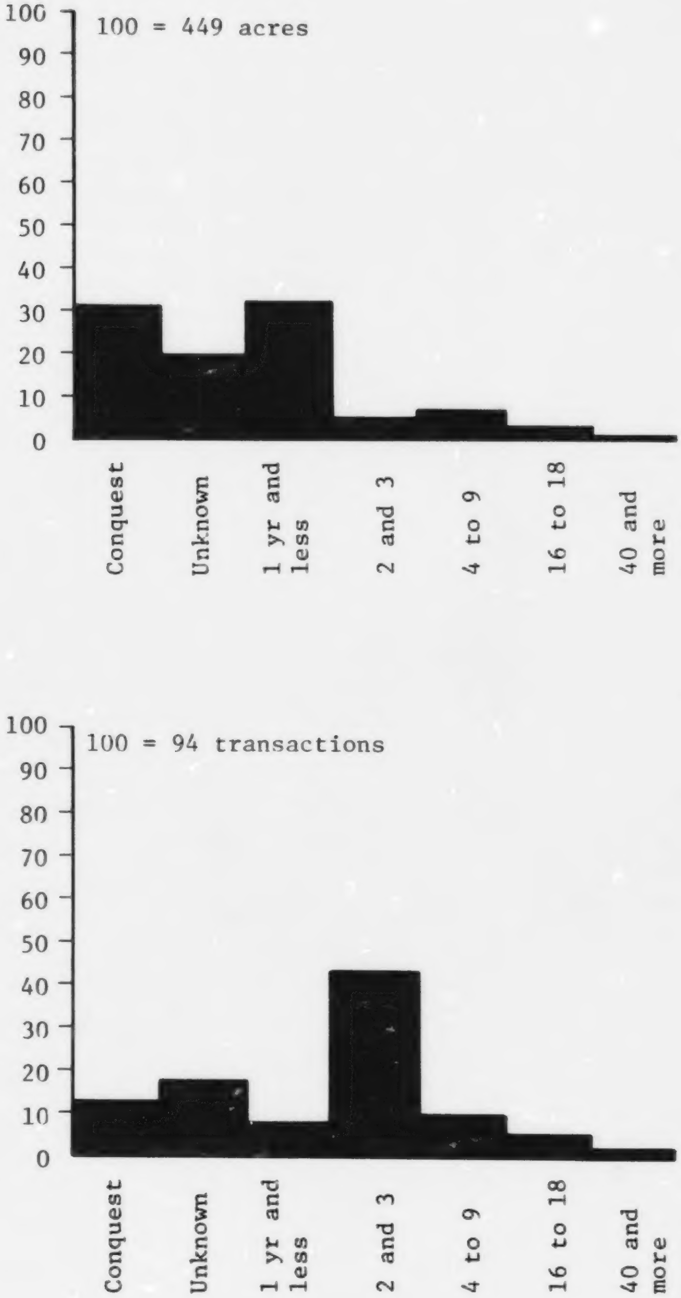

Figure 2. Number of acres and transactions according to duration of process.

We were unable to duplicate this approach when analysing the disposal of holdings. The documentation was less complete and the small number of transactions - ten in all - did not lend itself to such an analysis. All we could do was consider the relationship between the number of acres disposed of and the method of disposal. In fact, few acres were disposed of. Generally the military acquired land for defensive purposes, and it would therefore not have been very logical for them to dispose of it. It is for this reason that nearly 80% of the land in question was turned over to the federal government in 1871. The figure would have been 95% if Marchmont - 69 acres - had not been disposed of in 1835 in order to acquire Bandon Lodge at the Saint-Louis Gate exit.

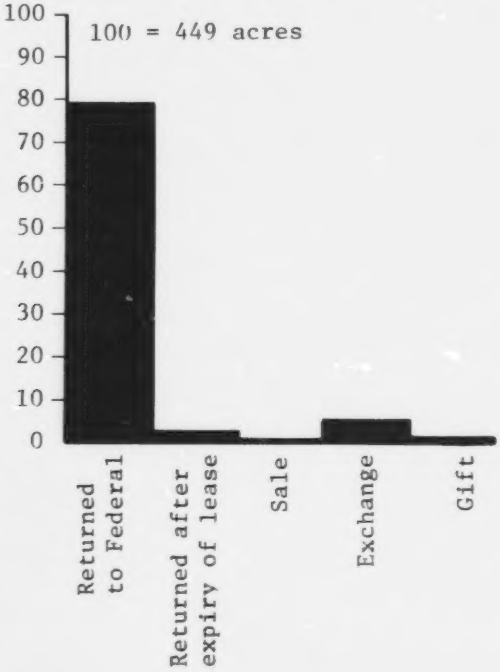

Figure 3. Number of acres and methods of disposal.

Use

What was done with the properties over this long period? With the exception of those purchased to serve as lodgings and offices and which were actually used as such - Bréhaut, Pownall and Elmsley, for example - military properties were fenced off and rented as pasture land for most of the period. Properties owned at the time of acquisition were generally subdivided into lots. Houses and outbuildings were occupied by garrison officers, while the remainder were rented as a whole or in part, for one or more years, to persons who agreed to maintain the fences and allow free passage for military exercises or recreation.[22]

A great deal could be said about the occupation and use of military property. There is an impressive amount of documentation dealing with maintenance and repair costs, and the income generated from all rentals. However, the fact that our research had to be cut short prevented us from dealing with this aspect.

Other Acquisition Projects

So far, we have tried to portray British military property during the period from 1760 to 1871. The portrait is limited to completed transactions and acreage actually acquired and occupied by the military.

There were, however, several other acquisition projects which, for one reason or another, were rejected even though, in some cases, negotiations lasted several years. We list them below in virtually the same order as in Table 1.

Table 8. Rejected acquisition proposals, 1831-71

Property	Size	Signatory	Length	Cost
Fortifications				
West glacis	23 1/4	93 owners	1831-47	51,775
St-Jean Gate glacis	1/4	Massue, G.	1839-?	?
	1/4	Ross, J.	1857-?	?
Citadel glacis	1 1/2	several	1849-50	16 to 25,000
Lower Town				
King's Wood Yard	1/4	Campbell, A. Dufresne, R.	1829-35	?
Upper Town outside the walls				
North side	2	Dunn, T.	1830-47	?
-	9	Anderson, J.	1829-31	?
South side	45	Bonner, J.	1840-48	?
-	24	Pelletier, P.	1840-48	?

Since this table represents more than 100 owners and some 105 1/2 acres of land, the military acquired only 80% of the acreage it wanted. Furthermore, the acreage it acquired was not necessarily the land it most wanted. For example, the 93 properties on the glacis between the Saint-Jean and Saint-Louis gates, covering an area of 23 1/4 acres inside a 200-yard radius of the walls, was by its very location much more important for the protection of the defences than many others acquired earlier (Fig. 12). Similarly, the Bonner and Pelletier properties separating Towers One and Two from the Exercising Grounds were at least as important as the latter, since they were located to the east (Fig. 13). This apparent inconsistency in acquisition policies was in fact very real. There was a distinct difference between the principles governing the acquisition of military holdings, and the policies recommended in turn by the various British authorities concerned or consulted about purchases in the colonies.[23]

PRINCIPLES OF ACQUISITION AND LEGAL IMPLICATIONS

In this section, we deal with two major issues: why the military acquired property and what for them constituted the legal problems inherent in this procedure. We do not, however, intend to scrutinize all the legal aspects of acquisition and possession. One need only read Henri Brun's study on the legal aspects of water resource ownership[1] to get an idea of the enormity of the problem and to dissuade one from adopting a similar approach to land acquisition without adequate training. We will merely raise the issue of legal implications to give an idea of their complexity.

Principles of Acquisition

Why did the military authorities acquire property in Quebec City? They did so to follow the principle of defence that contends that in constructing fortifications, each section of the defensive works should be visible to and defended by other works in such a way that the enemy is always exposed to a line of fire.[2] Martello towers were also constructed in accordance with this principle, and the Royal Engineers requested funds and authorizations to buy lots located on the glacis as they became available.[3] They required about 900 yards between the towers and the wall[4] and some military personnel went so far as to say that it was important to seize lands adjoining these lots in order to separate the outlying districts and prevent construction beyond these limits.[5] This principle of defence was reinforced by specific directives and, as a result, a circular was issued in 1830 by senior British authorities of Ordnance recommending that erection of buildings be prohibited within a radius of 600 yards of the walls.[6]

What happened in practice was quite different. Mann (in 1791 and 1799) and Bruyères (in 1807) unsuccessfully raised the issue of clearing the glacis. It was Durnford who, helped by circumstances (he arrived in 1816 after the great British victory in Europe) brought up the matter once again[7] in the context of a new defence policy for the colonies. Because of the circumstances, he succeeded where his predecessors had failed, and it was as a result of his directives that the Villeray Fief, the land for Towers Three and Four, the glacis holdings, and part of the Lampson and Marchmont holdings (Figs. 7 and 12) were acquired. However, from 1831 on, the authorities once again began to have reservations, and when the 600-yard limit was announced, Durnford was refused permission to conclude negotiations with Panet, Joly de Lotbinière, Dunn, and Stewart (*see* Fig. 12 where these lands are marked A, B, C, D and E). It was claimed that the cost was too great given the very slim possibility that the city would once again be attacked from that side.[8] Several subsequent proposals were made but few acquisitions actually took place despite passage of the "Ordnance Vesting Act" which gave Ordnance officers legal status and confirmed their right to acquire any lands necessary for the defence of the country[9] (Appendix B).

These events indicate that there was very little consistency between the principle and its application. How can this be explained? Several factors play a significant role, the most important of which being, of course, linked to Great Britain itself. To explain such disparity, some authors have drawn attention to the inconsistency inherent in policy and staff changes in the various offices responsible for defence of the colonies.[10] We also know that the mother country was never very much inclined to spend public funds, for things - in this instance, land - which did not seem of immediate importance. And perhaps we should also stress that "defensive" measures never seemed to anticipate attack, but to react to attack. Authorities reacted to the American Revolution, the War of 1812, the 1837 Rebellion, the Oregon crisis, the War of Secession and the Fenian invasion.[11] At the local level, it is certainly worth noting that the military had to face the problem of the tremendous growth of the upper town's outlying districts. As early as the end of the 18th century, the Faubourg Saint-Jean had become quite large[12] - this probably led to the litany of interventions mentioned earlier - and when Durnford arrived in 1816 the development had already reached Grande-Allée (Figs. 5, 6 and 7). This situation reflects the greatest problem the military authorities faced with regard to the fortifications: how to clear a glacis when the law of the land required that they give priority to maintaining hearth and home?[13] Most of what we called "legal implications" fall into this category.

Legal Implications

The legal implications are complex and all relate to the method of landholding. No matter what information and explanations are provided[14] (e.g., by Cugnet)[15] and no matter what experts are at hand (some displayed impressive knowledge),[16] seigneurial holdings were a foreign custom which did not assimilate easily to British tradition. A number of authors have stressed the incompatability of the two systems and the difficulties arising from any attempt to combine them, as some people had sought to do. The very expressions used had different meanings. For example, the words "hypothèque" and "mortgage" designate different things, and the expression "bailleur de fonds" had no English equivalent at the time.[17] Such problems were in evidence throughout most of the period, and people were constantly forced to come to grips with such terms when acquiring property.

Many court cases illustrate the problem, one being that of the military vs. la Fabrique de la paroisse. When some properties on Saint-Denis Street were expropriated in 1828, la Fabrique demanded compensation for loss of revenue. The military authorities refused, believing that la Fabrique was asking for rent payments; only after lengthy correspondence did the military finally understand the true nature of the request.[18] Other court cases included the military vs. Laporte and Lacroix in Upper Town and vs. Drapeau and residents of Champlain Street in Lower Town. We will deal with these cases in the following chapter.

Several other legal aspects should be mentioned. Some properties involved a chain of titles which would be interesting to analyse and others entailed problems which were never solved at the time. For example, who owns the cliff? The people below it or those above? A great deal could also be said about each stage of these proceedings, which were drawn out over several years, whether concluded or not. However, all things considered, we have decided to look at these problems from the perspective which the people of the time have passed on to us. And they were rarely preoccupied with purely legal issues.

REQUESTS, PROBLEMS AND LAWSUITS

Description

In this section, we discuss all the requests, complaints, petitions and litigations contained in the documents we examined. The picture we present is probably not complete. There are certainly requests or problems listed in documents we did not consult because they did not appear likely to serve our overall purpose. For example, it was only by chance that we examined some documents about army chaplains and found that several petitions concerning chaplains had been collected.[1] This may also be true for some groups which are not so clearly identified and which we did not examine. In speaking of restrictions, we must point out that, prior to 1840, townspeople customarily addressed their complaints directly to the military authorities: after 1840,[2] they seemed more inclined to report them first to City Council. The latter forwarded the petitions and requests it considered pertinent to the military authorities; as a result, it is possible that we have been deprived of an important source of documentation. However, we consider this unlikely. At that time, almost all military acquisitions had been completed; and problems rarely went beyond those issues which affected citizens directly: badly maintained or non-existent roads, overflowing sewers, fortifications which hindered traffic because the gates were too small, cracks in the headland and danger of rock falls. There were many of this nature; approximately 200 per year are to be found in the City Council and Highway Committee correspondence records of the 1840s.[3]

In analysing these documents, we first considered grouping them according to petitions: individual, groups of townspeople, community, agency, city and province. However, it later proved more useful to operate by subject. We have therefore grouped any application, request, or petition not involving a genuinely difficult issue under the term "request." We have grouped all complaints, protests or problems under the term "problem," and any litigation or lawsuit under the term "lawsuit." Within each category, and insofar as the documentation permitted, we have subdivided the subjects according to the issues involved.

Requests

Requests were essentially all of the same type, whether presented by an individual, a group or an agency. The person or persons concerned request a permission, a piece of land, a licence to rent or, after 1830, a change of title. These types of requests included some which had such extensive documentation that we decided not to include them: requests for beach lots, deep water wharves or changes in title, which often ended up at the Ordnance office even though they actually concerned Crown lands. Similarly, we have ignored rental requests for military properties; although numerous, they are all of a similar nature and offer little of particular interest to our current work.

The other requests - for land or for permission - are exremely varied and were almost all made during the 19th century. Generally, the military authorities refused to grant requests for land because they considered them detrimental to the defence of the city; however, they were quite amenable to granting the various permissions solicited. For example, in 1822 Harriet Martin was refused the request for land to build a temporary school on the glacis near the Prescott Gate.[4] In 1831, the Mechanics' Institute was refused the lot it had asked for inside the walls,[5] and some years later, *La Société historique littéraire de Québec* was refused a similar request.[6] In 1826 and 1831, similar requests by Angus McIntyre and Thomas Ashwood for lots in the lower town were likewise refused.[7] On the other hand, the Corporation was granted a request to cover a pool of stagnant water outside the Saint-Jean Gate[8] with a platform, a fact that gives us some indication of the power of the military in a city where even the Council had to ask for such permission. Permission was granted to the widow Arnoux to rent her land on Palace Harbour[9] to the Skating Rink Club to erect a temporary shelter for skaters,[10] and to the Corporation for a space to create a coachmen's dock outside the Saint-Jean Gate[11] and for right of passage across government land located between the Citadel and Towers One and Two.[12] These are just a few examples taken at random, but they are fairly representative of the variety of requests the military authorities in the city received on a regular basis.

Problems

The problems were also very numerous. We have grouped them according to whether they concerned political, economic or social matters, in other words according to whether they affected the decisions of the municipal authorities, involved financial difficulties for some individuals or compromised the well-being of the townspeople.

Those problems we have defined as political deal with the town as a corporation. Almost all related to roadways. Because several streets of the city, including some of the most important, were the responsibility of the military, the Corporation could not take decisions about opening or widening any of them without receiving permission from the military. Examples are numerous. In 1837, the Corporation wanted to extend d'Aiguillon Street,[13] in 1848 it sought to open Sainte-Ursule and Saint-Denis streets[14] and, in the sixties,[15] to enlarge d'Auteuil Street. The question of city limits also had to be dealt with: even though the need to change the city limits rapidly became obvious, the municipal authorities were not allowed to do so.[16] In each case, the Corporation informed the authorities of its needs or its intentions, and asked for permission, which was not always granted. We have included many other situations under the headings of "economic or social problems," or "lawsuits" when we felt more was at stake than just a simple decision-making power.

The problems (complaints, protests or petitions) of an economic nature all have a common denominator. Someone became angry because he or she suffered a financial loss for which he or she considered the military entirely responsible. Compensation for damages was claimed, for example, during the construction of military buildings[17] or while blasting was taking place to demolish a block of houses damaged by fire.[18] Sometimes a decision made by the military authorities was appealed because it had a detrimental effect on townspeople's business. For example, some people were vigorously opposed to a permission granted François Bellet to enclose a small parcel of land near the Côte à Coton. Bellet had lodged a complaint because his property adjoined the land which served as a latrine for passers-by and this situation caused him a great deal of inconvenience. The townspeople then complained of the inconvenience his enclosure caused them, since they were no longer able to transport wood along this route.[19] Similarly, decisions to close the gates of the city always met with violent objections.[20] As a matter of fact, the gates were the object of constant criticism throughout the entire period. The townspeople often complained about the inconveniences caused by the small size of the gates.[21] Lastly, many petitions were presented when the military sought to acquire property. Often, the other party to the transaction complained about losses incurred as a result of the slowness of this process.[22] Such losses were very real! On occasion, properties were sold for less than half the price agreed upon at the outset[23] - a sum which also failed to provide any compensation for inconviences resulting from the occupation of a property where no improvements were made for many years for fear of losing even more money. The expropriations made during the construction of the Citadel provide a good example of this problem, even though they only lasted for a period of five years. We have listed them in Appendix D.

Most common of all were the strictly social problems. They were also the most difficult to solve, a fact which explains in part why they seem to recur most often. Throughout almost the entire period, such problems were frequently the object of group petitions. People were very concerned about themselves as citizens, their safety, health and morality, but also on occasion about the city and its beauty.

In terms of safety, the precarious situation of the inhabitants at the base of the cliff certainly gave rise to the most protests. Such protests, already frequent between 1794 and 1830,[24] became so numerous after that time that we gave up trying to count them. Such complaints were well founded. From this period on, many land slides severely damaged properties under the headland.[25] Furthermore in 1848, the rock began to crack ominously and, as a result, there was a drastic increase in the number of petitions asking that safety measures be taken.[26] In fact, the tragedy of the situation did not lie in the imminent danger, but in the fact that no one wished to assume responsibility. The property rights concerning the cliff were never firmly established. Inhabitants claimed them when they wished to blast behind their houses,[27] and the military authorities claimed them when they wished to prohibit such blasting. On the other hand, both sides waived such rights when there was a question of assuming costs associated with the proper repair of the headland.[28] In 1865, on the very eve of Confederation, the problem was still unresolved.[29]

But this was not the only threat to the safety of the townspeople. Throughout the period, protests were lodged about the dangers resulting from the fortifications. Sometimes accidents caused by the slight elevation of the wall near the Hope Gate were cited,[30] sometimes it was the danger of having a powder magazine within the city walls,[31] and very often the issue was the poor state of the land outside of the gates which, in addition to the fact that it was poorly lighted, sometimes concealed dangerous inclines.[32]

Questions involving the health of inhabitants almost always revolved around the sewer system. All those living near the barracks, whether those of the Citadel, the Jesuit College or the Artillery, constantly complained that the sewers overran, that their courtyards were filled with filth, that their houses were sometimes uninhabitable because of the nauseating odours and that nearby streets often became impassable.[33] The city was naturally even more adamant and more than once complained that the health of its citizens was seriously endangered by the situation.[34] The newspapers complained as well, and more than one description corroborating the townspeople's side of the story can be found.[35] Other complaints dealing with the townspeople's health are similar: an unfenced military holding served as a latrine for passers-by and gave off foul odours;[36] a pool of stagnant water on the glacis of the Saint-Jean Gate was just as repulsive;[37] and more than one citizen was inconvenienced by the Military Hospital morgue on Saint-Louis Street.[38]

The problems concerning public morality differed from the others in that there was little the military could do to solve them, even though all directly related to military property. The townspeople spoke of nightly orgies and disturbances on military holdings south of Grande-Allée.[39] The papers often reported crimes committed near the fortifications;[40] they recalled that the city gates served as a lair for thieves, and that they should therefore be better guarded and lit.[41] In 1836, the city even threatened to mount its own guards if the military authorities did not soon take some action.[42]

The rather sombre portrait presented by all these problems is happily somewhat offset by petitions which indicate a real concern for the beauty of the city. In 1807, when the military authorities took over the garden adjoining the Jesuit College Barracks and cut down the fruit trees, all the inhabitants of Saint-Anne Street protested.[43] In 1827, 33 landowners from Upper Town moved that the Commissariat garden be opened on the east side both for safety reasons - a possible fire - and in order to beautify the city.[44] Finally, in 1847, the widow Gauvin, who had just sold her property to the military, protested vehemently because they had already cut down the fruit trees.[45]

Lawsuits

The lawsuits differ from the problems cited above in the sense that they were settled in a court of law. They all lasted quite some time and some had not been solved even by the turn of the 20th century. All those which pitted individuals against the military authorities related to some type of compensation arising from the military occupation of plots of land which individuals claimed were theirs. The Laporte, Drapeau, Voyer, Holland, Bowen and Lacroix case files are extensive and thus merit some attention. In 1843, the Laporte heirs claimed all the land on which the portion of the fortifications between the Saint-Jean and Saint-Louis gates was constructed. In other words they claimed compensation for the use the military made of this land for almost a century.[46] The lawsuit which lasted until 1854, was decided in favour of the Crown even though the Laporte title was valid[47] (Fig. 5).

In 1819, the widow Drapeau learned that part of the land of the Hôtel-Dieu, which she had owned since 1803, was sold by the military as a result of the opening of Saint-Paul Street.[48] She demanded compensation, and when the lot in question was bought by Sasseville and later by Bell, she initiated a lawsuit.[49] In 1832, she finally won the case and Bell had to pay compensation. The government refused to assume more than two-thirds of the costs, claiming that Bell had used Crown attorneys to defend himself[50] (Fig. 8).

In 1802, Pierre Voyer applied for permission to construct a wharf on the Récollets' land that he had held since 1798.[51] In 1819, the military asked him to produce the title, which he said he had given to the engineer, Bruyères, in 1808.[52] On April 19, 1821, a decision of the court expelled him from the land;[53] however, on June 8, he was granted permission to stay. In 1849, Pierre Voyer, his son, still occupied the beach in spite of protests and petitions from the inhabitants of Saint-Roch who felt that it was unjust that one person alone could have access to it[54] (Fig. 8).

The Holland case is somewhat special. Although the military seized his land in 1766, it was only at the beginning of the 19th century that his heirs came forward to contest the matter.[55] Negotiations lasted many years and at the end of the century the case had still not been settled.[56]

The case of Mr. Justice Bowen vs. the military authorities is somewhat different. In 1850, the military decided to take back the land they had rented to the judge in the early forties. The latter, who had occupied it over the period in question, had developed it beautifully - so well in fact, that the military wished to take it back for the use of convalescents of the military hospital.[57] In 1869, Bowen still refused to turn it over and the authorities were contemplating legal action.[58]

The Lacroix case is typical of the legal difficulties the British experienced at the beginning of their tenure. When they acquired King's Field in 1781, the Lacroix family claimed its seigneurial dues.[59] In 1798, the question had still not been settled[60] and no one knew when it would be. However, when the first inventory of military property was drawn up in 1826, it was stated that dues had been paid to the Lacroix heirs.

Other lawsuits set the military authorities against the city and the province. The city persisted in its demand that the military contribute to road upkeep, and the military was just as obstinant in refusing to do so (except for streets that were entirely their responsibility) claiming that they did not wish to set a precedent.[61] Similarly, military authorities refused official approval of city plans until incorporation took place.[62] The province fought to keep the lands of the bishop's palace - today Montmorency Park - and those of the Durham terrace. It also conducted extensive correspondence to obtain permission to build its prison (Fig. 15) where it wished, and to oppose the military seizure of Jesuit holdings in the city earmarked for use as educational facilities for young people.[63]

One long suit involving all three parties related to Palace Harbour. At the time of the Conquest, military authorities seized and occupied it and, although they never held title, did not hesitate to sell sections of it whenever it suited them.[64] The province, also believing itself to be responsible, often granted leases without incurring any objection from Ordnance officers.[65] The real conflict began in 1845, when the province prepared to grant letters patent to the Corporation, and continued until 1852. The Corporation obtained its letters patent, but on the condition that it not transfer title to any of the land for three years.[66]

Findings

All these requests, problems and lawsuits merit consideration in their entirety and we have attempted to analyse them as to procedures and results. One striking feature is the similarity in the sequence of claims. To illustrate this, we will now provide an example *in extenso*.[67]

January 30, 1866. P. Garneau, tenant, writes to his landlord to tell him that he must move from his lodgings because of the military hospital morgue.

February 23, 1866. Duncan McPherson, landlord, writes to the procurer's office to inform him of the problem and to ask him to forward his letter to the person responsible.

February 23, 1866. Joseph Muskett, the recipient, sends the letter to the mayor of the city and includes pertinent information about the morgue.

February 26, 1866. James Lindsay, the mayor of the city sends the correspondence to the quartermaster's office.

February 28, 1866. D. Lysons, the quartermaster, asks the commanding officer of the Royal Engineers to provide more detailed information about the matter.

March 13, 1866. Charles Ford, commanding officer of the Royal Engineers, provides the necessary details and decides that it might be preferable to submit the issue to the legal advisors.

When a reply is finally agreed upon, it is sent back in the same manner. This says a great deal about the time taken to conduct transactions and the amount of correspondence involved.

In an effort to study and establish certain constants, we analysed 133 cases. Our selection was not arbitrary. We used what remained of the requests, problems and lawsuits mentioned in military correspondence after excluding applications for the beach lot and high-water wharves, petitions for a change in title, applications for rental and protests from townspeople living at the foot of the headland. We were left with 61 requests, 60 problems and 12 lawsuits, which we classified by decade and by party. Prior to 1840 and the second incorporation of the city, there were more requests from individuals and groups of individuals; after 1840, requests were more often made through various agencies or via the Corporation.

Table 9. Number of applications, requests, problems and lawsuits

Date	Individuals	Groups	Communities	Agencies	Corporation	Province
1760	1	2	-	-	-	-
1770	1	1	-	-	-	-
1780	1	-	-	-	-	-
1790	4	-	-	-	-	-
1800	4	3	1	-	1	-
1810	8	2	-	-	1	-
1820	14	9	-	-	4	-
1830	7	5	-	1	6	-
1840	7	3	-	1	3	-
1850	3	3	1	6	6	3
1860	4	-	1	3	8	-
1870	-	-	-	-	3	-

It is also interesting to observe that the greatest number of requests were received in the ten-year period in which the greatest number of acres were acquired (Appendix A, Fig. 4).

As with the acquisition proceedings, we examined the time elapsed for requests, petitions or lawsuits concerning citizens and the military authorities. Here, much less documentation was available. In approximately 50% of the cases, the time elapsed between the date of the request and that on which a reply was received is unknown. Where such information was available, the time period in question was classified according to essentially the same categories we used earlier, i.e. one year or less, 2 or 3 years, 4 to 9 years and 10 years and more.

Table 10. **Length of request procedures**

Time Elapsed	Number of Transactions
Unknown	62
One year or less	31
2 and 3 years	6
4 to 9 years	15
10 years and more	19

If, as for the acquisition proceedings, we assume the unknown cases as belonging to the one-year-or-less category, 70% of the transactions were concluded quickly, and 30% lasted several years. This is almost the opposite of what was observed in the case of acquisitions (*see* Fig. 4).

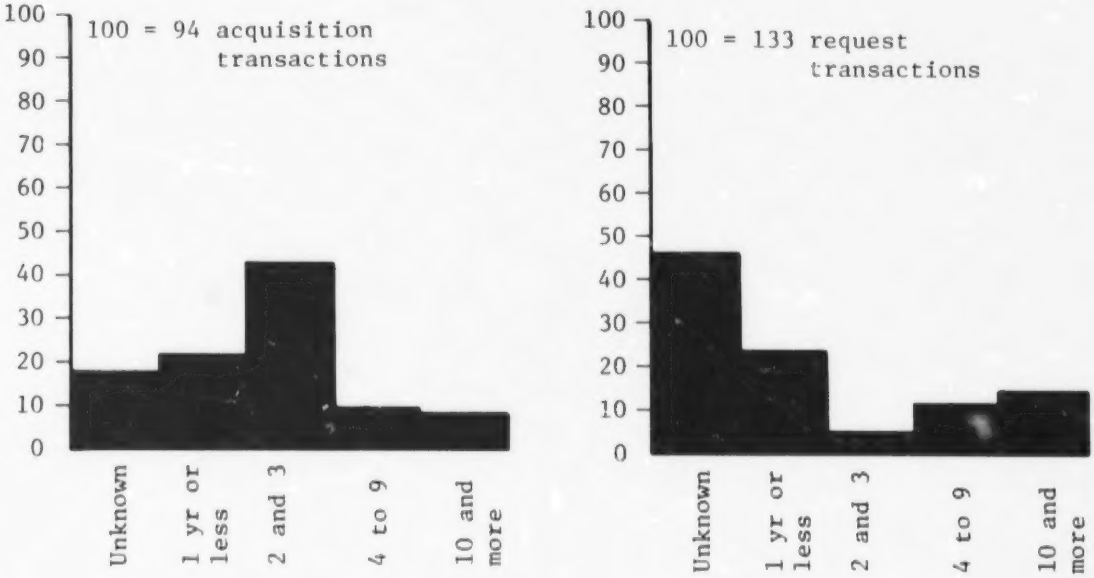

Figure 4. Comparative periods for acquisition proceedings and requests.

We also studied the results in order to determine whether the requests, problems and lawsuits were decided in favour of the petitioners. We found that 42% were favourable, 31% unfavourable and 27% unknown. We were also interested in determining if any favoritism was shown toward one group or another, ethnic or professional. Here, the documentation did not provide us with any concrete answers; on the one hand, favourable reponses were often received by individuals when their application was of little importance and, on the other, several requests made by the Corporation after its second incorporation were also granted. There is therefore little reason for us to conclude that there was any favoritism shown. Overall, we conclude that problems were generally solved quite quickly and were usually favourable to the parties airing grievances. However, such a conclusion is really a little hasty. In order to understand fully everything relating to these problems, they must be seen in the context of the problem of the military property in Quebec City.

QUEBEC CITY AND MILITARY PROPERTY

By placing these terms side by side, we raise the issue of their interdependence, a seldom-studied problem. Occasional studies have been done on specific property or on the occupation of the Plains which hindered development of the city.[2] More often than not, however, historians have studied the fortifications[3], usually with little reference to their economic impact on the city.[4] Until now, in fact, military holdings as such have never been the subject of a specific study, even though people have been interested for some time in the military presence and its impact on the city where the garrison was quartered.[5] As we mentioned earlier, a similar study[6] led us to examine the problem of military property in Quebec City and the role it played in the city's history. We looked at two aspects: how history relates to military holdings, and how military holdings related to the history of the city.

Historical Factors

There is no need for us to repeat the events we have already discussed[7] - the Conquest, the American Revolution, the Napoleonic Wars, the War of 1812, the 1837 Rebellion, the Union of the Canadas, the American War of Independence and Confederation. However, although these events had a direct impact on the construction of this 449-acre domain, they were also the signal for its decline. They divide the history of military property into the three major periods. The first extended through most of the 18th century, and was a period of uncertainty; Great Britain was not convinced of the importance of its new colony until the United States won its independence and thus created a frontier to be defended. Only then did Britain decide to take its new colony seriously. The second, which was by far the most important, covers the so-called Lower Canada period, from 1791 to 1840. This was the period of the Napoleonic Wars, of Quebec City's economic growth; it also coincides with the period of Anglophone predominance in the city.[8] Was this coincidence or consequence? Whatever the answer, it was the period of major acquisitions and development, a period when municipal administrators had neither the capacity nor the means to resist the military authorities and their increasing power. The third period, which cannot be compared to the first, spanned a thirty-year period from 1841 to 1871. Quebec City lost national prestige, but the City Council gained in influence and power. The military property question became less and less relevant - to the point that permission was given for the city gates to be demolished. The age of the fortified city had ended.

The problems relating to military property coincide perfectly with these three periods. In the 18th century there were only a few mentions of requests or problems, the majority of these being harmless cases of blasphemy committed on military property. Only the dispute concerning Jesuit holdings merits consideration and persisted over a period of several years. The second period which lasted until 1840 gave rise to the most petitions and lawsuits. This was the period of individual requests - 37 as compared to 14 in the following period - and of those from citizens' groups - 19 compared to 6 for the years 1841-71. People asked for permission to fence and build property and complained of overflowing sewers, closed gates, the debauchery rampant on military property and the slowness of sales or expropriation transactions concluded with the military.[9] The last period is one of requests from organizations: various societies[10], the Corporation and the Province. It was also the period in which requests were most frequently granted. Of the 55 cases settled in favour of the petitioner between 1760 and 1871, 28, or one half, occurred in the last 30 years. In other words, one application out of two was granted during this period, compared to one out of three during the two previous periods.[11]

In sum, the history of military holdings in Quebec City is the history of the city itself and is totally dependent on the international situation. It may have been one of the factors through which Quebec City experienced the repercussions of the time; as we have already said, the history of military property in Quebec City is one of reaction not anticipation.[12] Major building projects and acquisitions always followed on the heels of an event that emphasized the shortcomings of the city's defence system. These building projects and acquisitions also affected the city and its inhabitants, as is illustrated by the numerous problems that they engendered.

Factors Relating to Military Property

It is one thing to say that military property played a role in the history of Quebec City but quite another to see evidence of this fact. There are, of course, obvious and uncontestable repercussions. Maps of the period[13] (Figs. 7 and 12) show the constant obstacle to development of the upper town posed by military land. This is especially so on the south side of Grande-Allée. It is also immediately obvious that military holdings represented a large section of the city within the walls,[14] where they occupied over 76 of the 180 acres (42%). This figure does not include the many houses rented by the military throughout the entire period. The map also clearly indicates the size and placement of these properties.[15] For example, the Jesuit Barracks take up five and one-quarter acres of the central core; it is impossible to overlook this structure and the thousand or so soldiers who lived there[16] (Fig. 14). Nor is it difficult to grasp the economic and social impact of the wall that surrounded the centre of the city, a wall with only five gates which were closed at night for long periods, thus depriving people in the suburbs of essential services.[17] We were aware of all these factors well before undertaking our study; we also spent time on other economic and social elements we found in transactions relating to purchases, sales and applications.

In most cases, these elements confirmed certain aspects of Quebec City's situation which have been revealed by other studies conducted in recent years.[18] Such research drew attention to the chronic financial problems of the colony,[19] resulting from military purchases, usually paid for with bills of exchange.[20] However, when the military was the vendor, the situation became more complicated; often the military had to wait several years before receiving its first payment.[21] The research also emphasized fluctuations in property values (Ouellet noted a sharp drop between 1825 and 1835).[22] In 1828, certain landowners near the citadel had to sell their property for less than half the price initially agreed upon in 1825[23] (Appendix D). Finally, the numerous applications for transfers of title demonstrate the importance of the seigneurial system and confirm that the problem existed throughout the entire period.[24]

The same is true of strictly social matters. Military documentation provides a very good record of the problems of the period. For example, the enormity and permanence of problems relating to health, crime and poor road communications are clearly revealed by an analysis of citizens' petitions and requests.[25] Also evident are instances of Francophone and Anglophone business partnerships (such as the Anderson-Bélanger and the Dufresne-Campbell cases) and the cordial relationship between the military and citizen-landowners when the latter's financial interests were not threatened.[26] The history of military holdings in Quebec City has proven to be an excellent reflection of the city's society; not only did it corroborate a long list of observations, but is also revealed other less known or to date, less well researched characteristics of this society.

These characteristics concern a select group of citizens - the landowners. The study of military property tends to deal mainly with this class, which includes people from every profession: judges - Bowen, Elmsley, Sewell and Smith; businessmen - Anderson, Bonner and Lampson; British officials - Harvey, Holland Murray and Van Corlandt; notaries - Bélanger, Crebassa and Campbell; important landowners - religious communities, Dunn, Lotbinière and Panet; and master tradesmen - the Jourdains and Petitclairs. These were only a few of the landowners who engaged in sales with the military authorities. In the same way, we could just as easily consider people who made requests or petitions (Appendix E). In sum, these people were no strangers to the city's society; we have come across their names on several occasions in books[27] and documents.[28] In this respect, the documents on lands in Lower Canada[29] have been the most enlightening because of the wealth of information they provide. As an example, knowledge of the widow Drapeau's impressive list of landholdings elsewhere in the province[30] led to a better understanding of why she won her case against the government.[31]

Property is the common denominator in all our findings. The slowness of transactions, which is among the most obvious of our findings, was of particular interest - and rightly so, since in 70% of the cases, they lasted more than two years. The procedure was always the same: the landowner was advised of the authorities' desire to purchase his land; a price was agreed upon, and possibly modified by arbitration; the fixed amount was then submitted for the approval of authorities in Great Britain. If accepted, the transaction might conceivably be concluded within a reasonable time; refusal meant renewed arbitration and approval. All these transactions were interspersed with very justifiable complaints and protests. From the moment a person was advised of the purchase or future expropriation of his land, it was no longer possible for him to improve his property, as he would not be able to recover his costs. Nor could the land be sold to another buyer. The vendor was thus left to the mercy of the military negotiator until the agreement was ratified.[32]

This situation does not mean, however, that the citizen was always a victim. A number of people speculated on the possible value of their property for the military and some profited from this process, as is illustrated by the Stewart case. In 1827 the Irish Catholics in Quebec City urged Stewart to sell them his Bandon Lodge property - A and B in Figure 12 - outside of the Saint-Louis Gate, in order to erect their own building on the site. Following the offer, Stewart met with the military authorities and told them he was prepared to give them first choice in the matter. Negotiations began. Both sides made many compromises until finally, in 1835, Stewart was given the 69-acre suburban Marchmont property for his property near the walls[33] (Fig. 9). This case is made all the more interesting by the fact that it reflects all the concerns of the Royal Engineers with regard to obstruction of the glacis.

However, not everyone was so fortunate. In 1839, Lampson who owned large tracts of land along the river, purchased the Ursuline property between Villeray Fief and Towers One and Two (Fig. 12). He wanted to parcel out the land and build a road by the cliff to accommodate workers who complained of the extra cost incurred by the distance they had to travel from home. Scarcely had he notified the military authorities than they seized his land and refused him access. In 1842, agreement was reached on compensation, but Lampson claimed the interest for that period. The suit was finally settled in favour of the military.[34]

Numerous cases fall into the same categories as the above examples and it would be too time-consuming to discuss them all here. There is one, however, that deserves attention, as much because of the variety of ideas on property it provides, as because of the status of the persons involved, which included Archibald Campbell, a King's Counsel in charge of almost all agreements made between the military and the citizens of Quebec City[35]. The affair spanned 15 years, perhaps more, but after 1835, no further mention of it is found in the documents. In 1820 and 1822, Campbell and several others - Anderson, Bélanger, Clearihue, Deblois, Dufresne, Sarony and Wesler - purchased a double row of properties on Saint-Vallier Street in front of King's Wood Yard. The property was put up for sale by the military authorities in order to collect funds to purchase the Villeray Fief.[36]

Years passed; no one made the slightest payment and no one claimed any. However, in 1828, the authorities decided to take back the lands to enlarge the wood yard. Everything was easily settled for lots adjoining the yard. In most cases they had never been occupied since there was no access road (the proposed road was never constructed). However, it was a different story for the lots on Saint-Vallier Street and especially for Dufresne's and Campbell's, the latter having exchanged parcels of land to accommodate each other (Fig. 11). Therein lay the whole problem, and it was impossible to determine who owed what to whom. The ensuing correspondence between Dufresne, Campbell and the military contains very interesting ideas on property.[37] It seems that property was an excellent way to speculate and that it was advisable to improve it as quickly as possible. Capital was therefore invested for those purposes rather than for the initial payment. In this way, no one lost. The seller saw his property gain in value over the years and the buyer was assured of a respectable resale price, besides enjoying the comfort resulting from these improvements. This seemed so simple, in fact, that Campbell and Dufresne did not hesitate to make an improvement that entailed annexation of part of the lot for which neither had yet paid.

Was this a special case, or was it an attitude that stemmed from a money problem, a problem that affected everyone at the time? We have no idea, and would have to study numerous other cases before arriving at some kind of generalization. However, the interest of these documents relating to military property lies in the fact that they offer a glimpse of some of the riches that study of private property can conceal.[38] It would be possible, for example, to track down the real financial backers in the city, and perhaps see some of the relationships between landowners and tenants. We would thus be able to shed new light on the society of the city at that time.

Two other findings, both relating to the city, have proven quite original. On the one hand, we were interested in the question of taxes on military holdings, especially upon discovering that they were not paid.[39] Such property covered more than 42% of the city within the walls and we have to wonder about the impact such evasiveness had on municipal finances. The military contributed much to the economic life of the city by maintaining a garrison, buildings and lands. This is precisely the argument to which they resorted whenever the city complained.[40] But even at that, one cannot help but speculate on the repercussions. On the other hand, and in another sense, it is interesting to note the townspeople's interest in the city's beauty and their efforts to improve it: their petitions and requests are eloquent statements of this interest and encourage us to consider contemporary iconography. This also leads to a new field of research relating to the exteriors of the properties and the physical aspect of the city. Perhaps some day such a study will give us an idea of the aesthetic values of the average citizen in the 18th and 19th centuries.[41]

CONCLUSION

Our research on military holdings in Quebec City is far from conclusive as we had to omit too many factors, such as an analysis of maintenance and repair costs of military buildings, a study of tenants and rent prices, or an inventory of private military property. However, this is not to say that our study has been without value - on the contrary, it has enabled us to achieve a better grasp of certain aspects of Quebec.

It is unnecessary to repeat all that has been said; suffice it to emphasize some of the most significant aspects. The most impressive is undoubtedly the scope or extent of military holdings: 42% of the city inside the walls, 28% of the entire city if we exclude the approximately 140 acres represented by Marchmont and the Exercising Grounds outside the city limits. This acreage speaks for itself and is even more significant when one considers its many political, economic and social implications. Imagine the pressures that can be exerted on a local administration when one holds a third of the land under its jurisdiction! And imagine the restrictions that can be applied to a population when its access to the centre of the city is controlled!

The impact of military property is undeniable, as we have constantly observed in all the relations between military authorities and the townspeople. These relations or problems - purchases and sales, various requests and petitions, legal and financial disputes, health and communication problems, to list but the most important - have also illustrated the importance of property as a mirror of a given society. Through them, we have observed the speculations of some, the disappointments of others. We have also been able to establish that people were acquainted with the law and used it to good effect; a small group of people, all landowners, became intimately involved in the life of their city, in various functions as road surveyors or inspectors, clerks or justices of the peace, public trustees or churchwardens, company presidents or members of the House.[1] In other words, we found a group of landowners - professionals or merchants - who were strong enough to resist effectively the pressures of military authorities; so effectively in fact, that this military element in the city has almost never been discussed in works by writers interested in Quebec City.

These considerations bring us back to our initial concern: the impact of the presence of the British military garrison in Quebec City. In this regard, the military property perspective has certainly confirmed several of our hypotheses. For example, the problem of space proved to be as constraining as that of numbers; consequently, until 1840, the military authorities enjoyed a much greater decision-making power than justices of the peace or even the City Council. Moreover, relationships between the military and this well-to-do class of landowners appeared to be as cordial as our previous research had led us to suspect. Finally, the economic impact of the military presence we have described is epitomized by all the petitions condemning the small size of the gates, the poor condition of military roads, or the slowness of transactions between the military and townspeople.[2] However, we are still unable to juxtapose the city's civilian and military populations, and even less able to explain exactly how they related to each other. We hope that current studies on certain British regiments,[3] various groups of craftsmen[4] and large landowners will shed some light on this question, which is fascinating, to say the least.

Figure 5. Quebec City in 1791. (Drawing: G. Mann and J.H. Brigley). This general map of the city enables us to visualize military holdings before the period of major acquisitions. On the Plains is King's Field, acquired in 1781; later, it changed slightly, when the westernmost half-acre was exchanged for three-quarters of an acre to the south. The glacis is in front of the fortification wall. In the upper town inside the walls, we see the future Citadel, temporary buildings, the Royal Engineers' Yard, the Esplanade, Artillery Park, Jesuit Barracks, the King's Redoubt and the Château Gardens. Mont Carmel is to the left of the street of the same name. In the lower town, we see the King's Wharf on the river and the wharf on the Saint-Charles River at the site marked "Batteaux Yard." To the left lies the King's Wood Yard later enlarged by taking part of the adjoining garden. This map also shows the already considerable size of Faubourg Saint-Jean - a situation that worried the Royal Engineers at the time. (Public Archives Canada.)

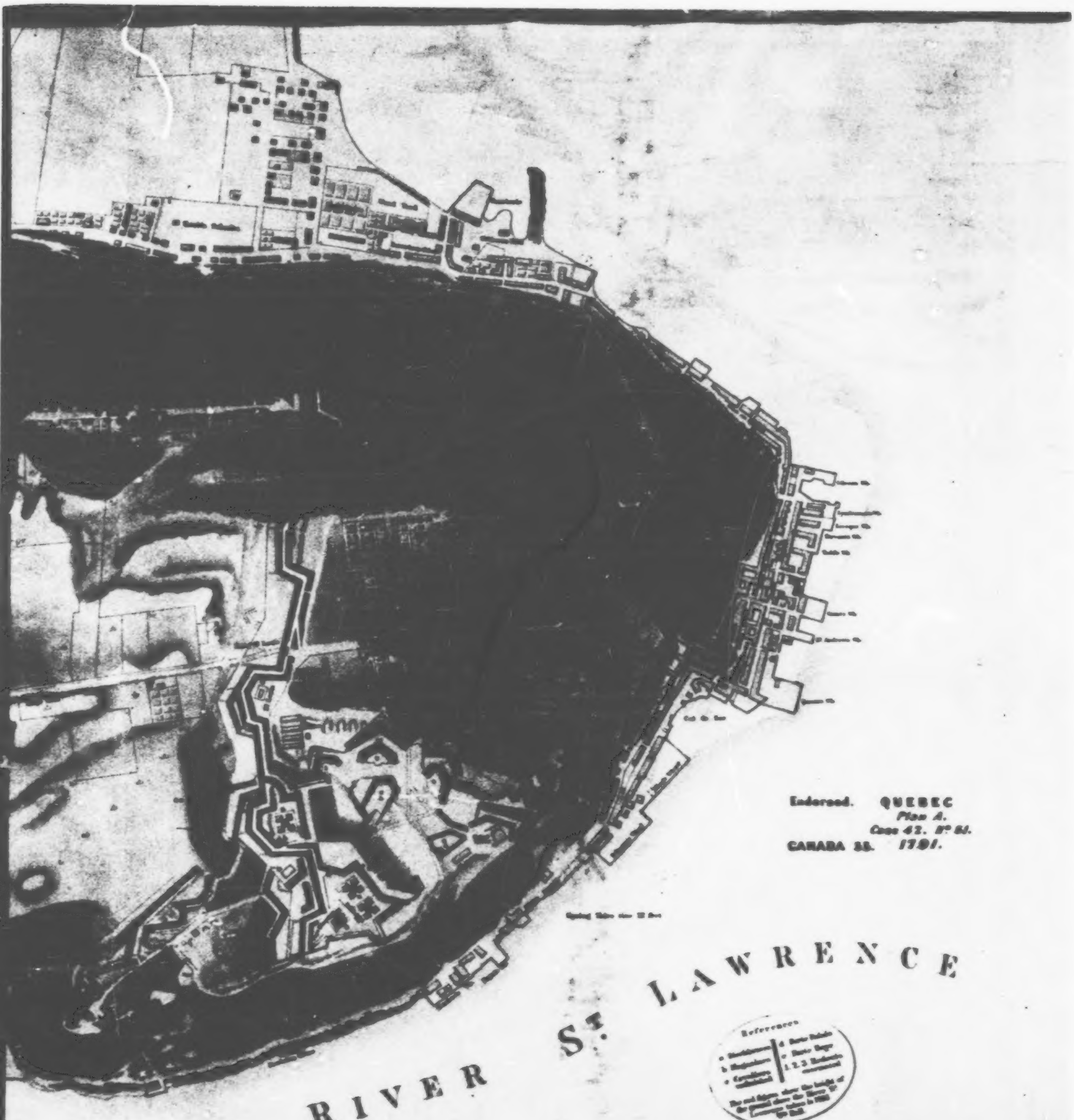
Endorsed. QUEBEC
Plan A.
Case 42. N° 61.
CANADA 35. 1791.
RIVER ST. LAWRENCE
References
1. 2. 3
Colonial Office London
Copied by J H Brigg December

Figure 6. Quebec City in 1808, from a map by J.B. Duberger. This map marks the sites of the four Martello towers constructed between 1808 and 1812. The redoubt at the site of Tower Two was never completed. From this map one can see why the engineers always wished to keep unencumbered the land between the wall and these towers. (Public Archives Canada.)

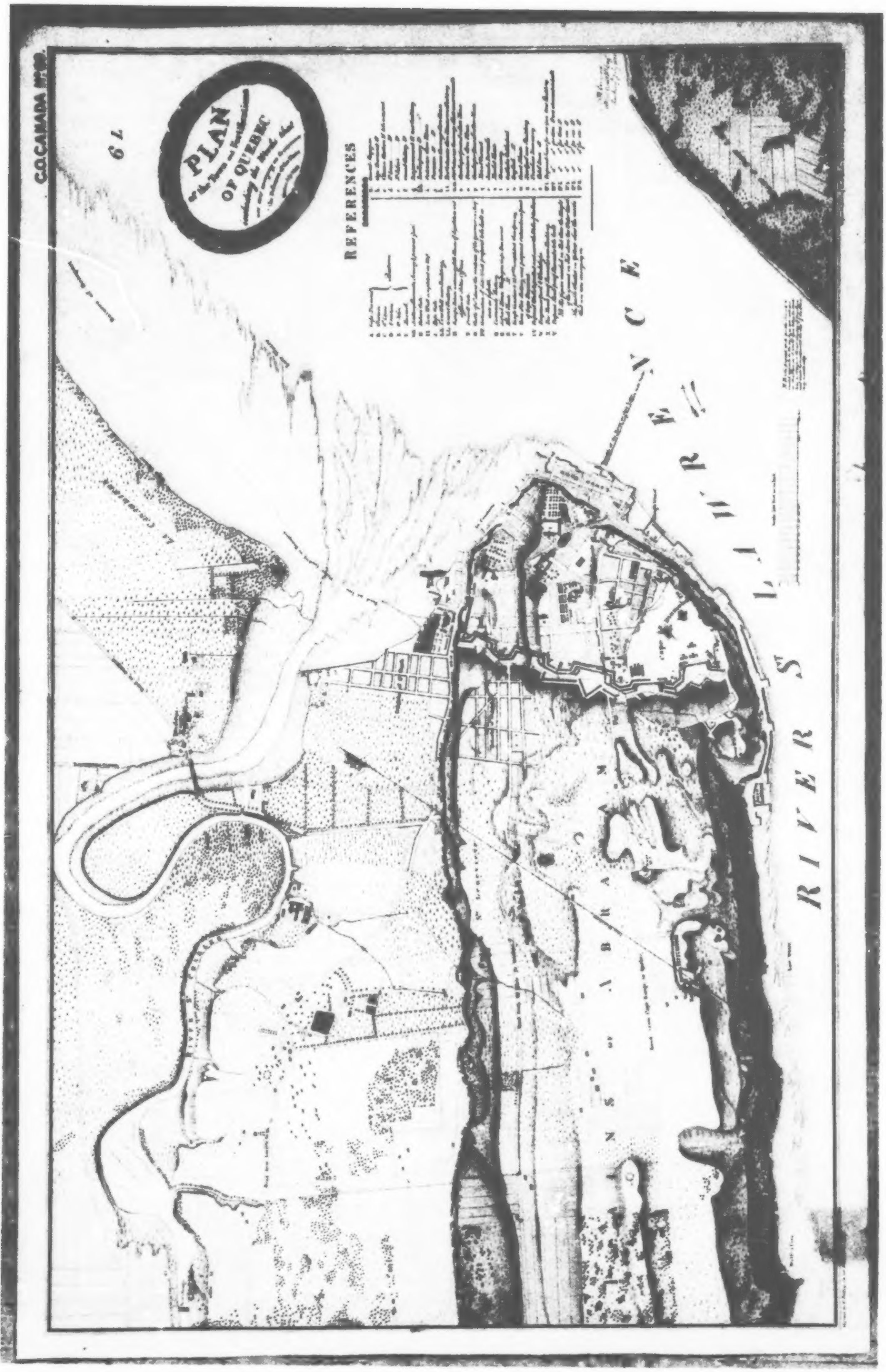
PLAN
OF QUEBEC
REFERENCES
RIVER ST LAWRENCE
PLAINS OF ABRAHAM

Figure 7. Military property in Quebec City in 1821, from a map by E.W. Durnford. Durnford's map was prepared just before conclusion of the agreements on Towers Three and Four and the Moorhead property south of Tower Two. These properties are shaded and it can easily be seen that at the time they were intended to break up the faubourgs and discourage construction beyond them; the faubourgs had already expanded as far as Grande-Allée. (Public Archives Canada.)

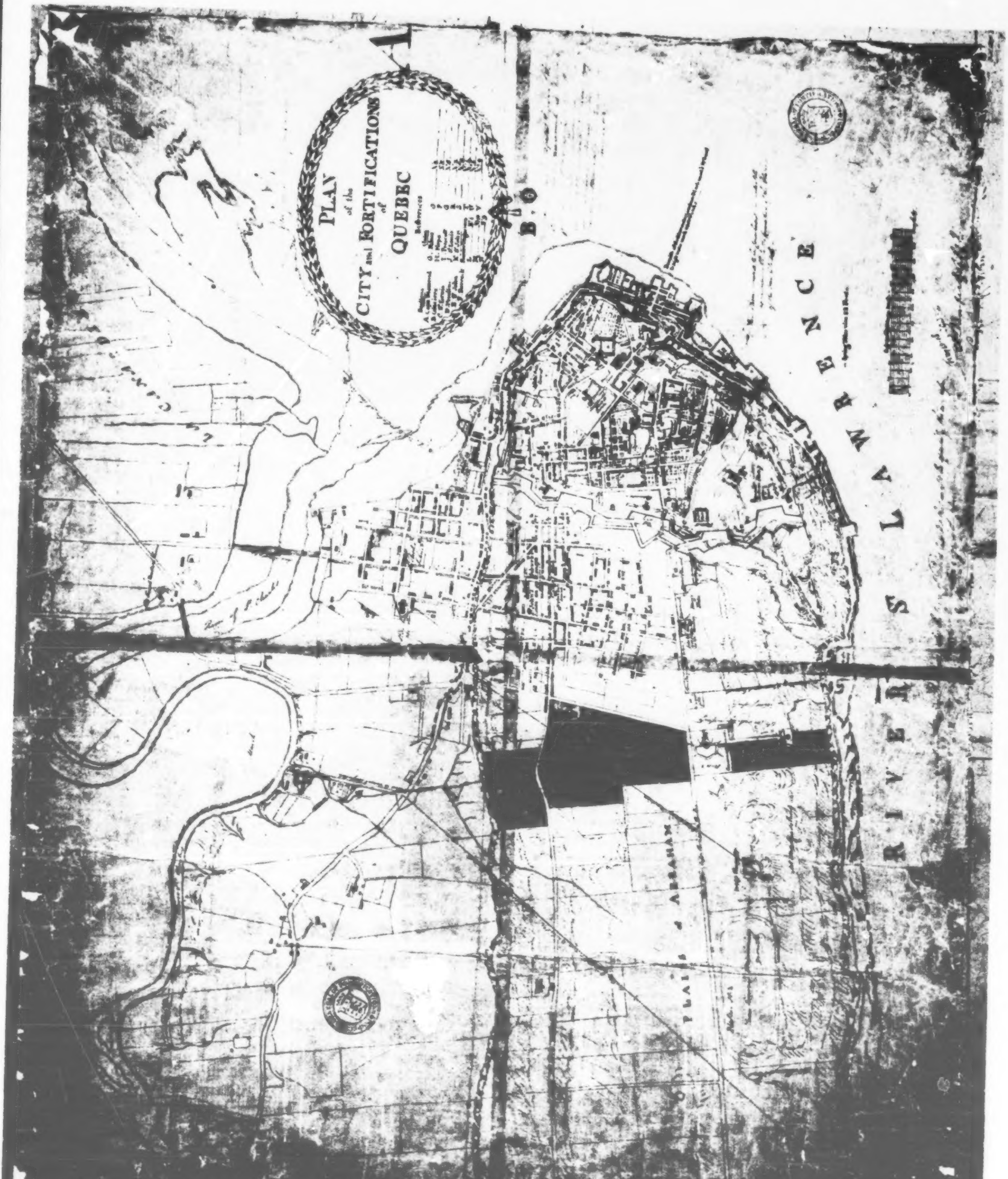
PLAN
of the
CITY and FORTIFICATIONS
of
QUEBEC
RIVER ST LAWRENCE
PLAINS of ABRAHAM

Figure 8. Palace Harbour and King's Wood Yard in 1821, from a map by J.B. Larue. Note the extension of Saint-Paul Street near the beach; this caused many problems, among them the suit of the widow Drapeau vs. Bell, who bought a property from the government. Farther south, a dotted line indicates Dalhousie Street, which was not built, but which marked off the property sold on Saint-Vallier Street at the time and caused problems later. In the 18th century, the Wood Yard was not as extensive; the entire western part was an immense garden, which was part of the Intendant's Palace. The area between the cliff and Saint-Vallier and Saint-Charles streets was bought by the military in 1847. (Quebec City Archives.)

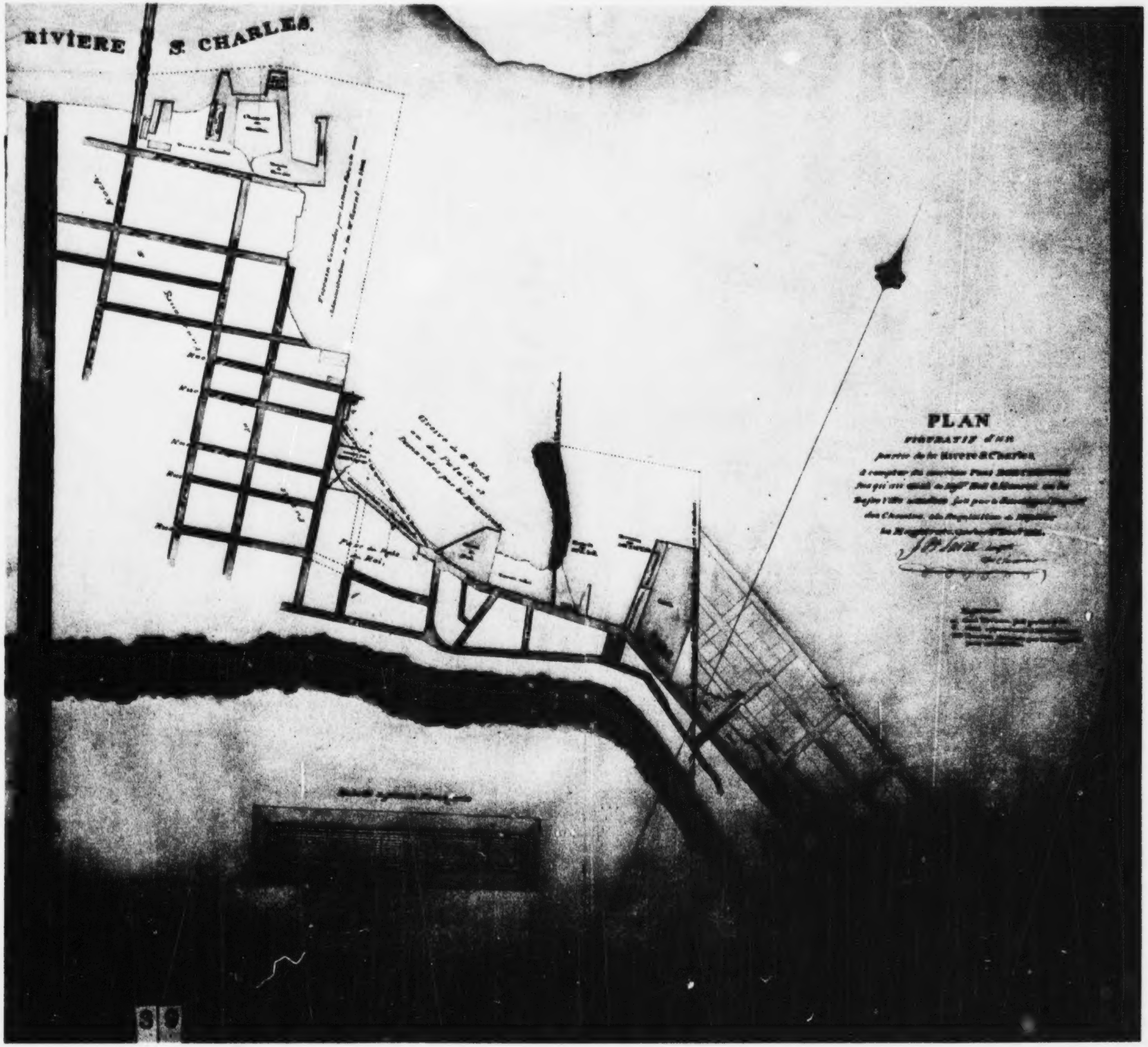
RIVIERE S. CHARLES.
PLAN
FIGURATIF d'un
partie de la Riviere S. Charles,
Greve de S. Roch
ou du Palais,

Figure 9. Marchmont (property of J. Harvey) in 1826. This property, acquired by the military in 1827, covered 69 acres and was located west of the Exercising Grounds, about one and a quarter miles from the city. It is an excellent example of the great potential interest there would be in studying private military property. In 1835, it was exchanged for Bandon Lodge, a four-acre property near the walls. (Public Archives Canada.)

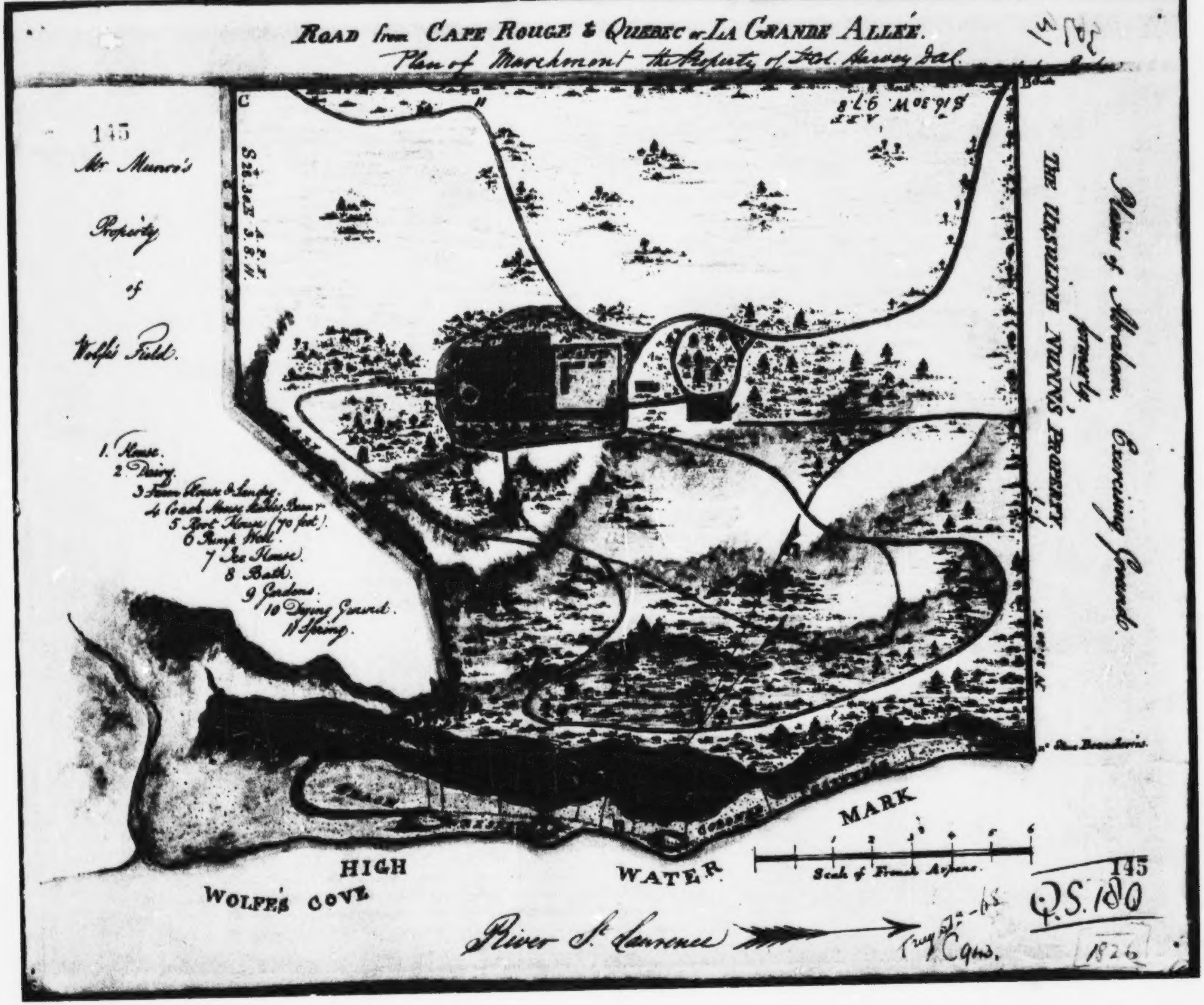
ROAD from CAPE ROUGE & QUEBEC or LA GRANDE ALLÉE.
Plan of Marchmont the Property of Col. Harvey Dal.
S16.30W 9.7.8
A.P.F.
145
Mr. Munro's
Property
of
Wolfe's Field.
S26.30E 3.8.H.
A.P.F.
C
B
1. House.
2 Dairy.
3 Farm House & Laundry.
4 Coach House Stables Barn &c.
5 Root House (70 feet).
6 Pump Well.
7 Ice House.
8 Bath.
9 Gardens.
10 Drying Ground.
11 Spring.
Plains of Abraham. Exercising Ground.
formerly,
THE URSULINE NUNN'S PROPERTY.
HIGH
WATER
MARK
WOLFE'S COVE
Scale of French Arpens
1
2
3
4
5
6
River St. Lawrence
145
Q.S. 180
1826

Figure 10. The Citadel glacis in 1829, from a drawing by S.B. Howeltt. In 1829, agreements were finalized for the acquisition of lots numbered one to eight. For lots nine to thirteen, the agreements lasted until 1831 and were complicated by the decision to enlarge the expropriated area considerably. We see the cluster of military buildings in this section of the city: to the left, the Royal Engineers' Yard, to the right, the Military Hospital, the Officers' Quarters and Mount Carmel, and finally, at the far right under the powder magazine, the land acquired by the Jourdain brothers. (Public Archives Canada.)

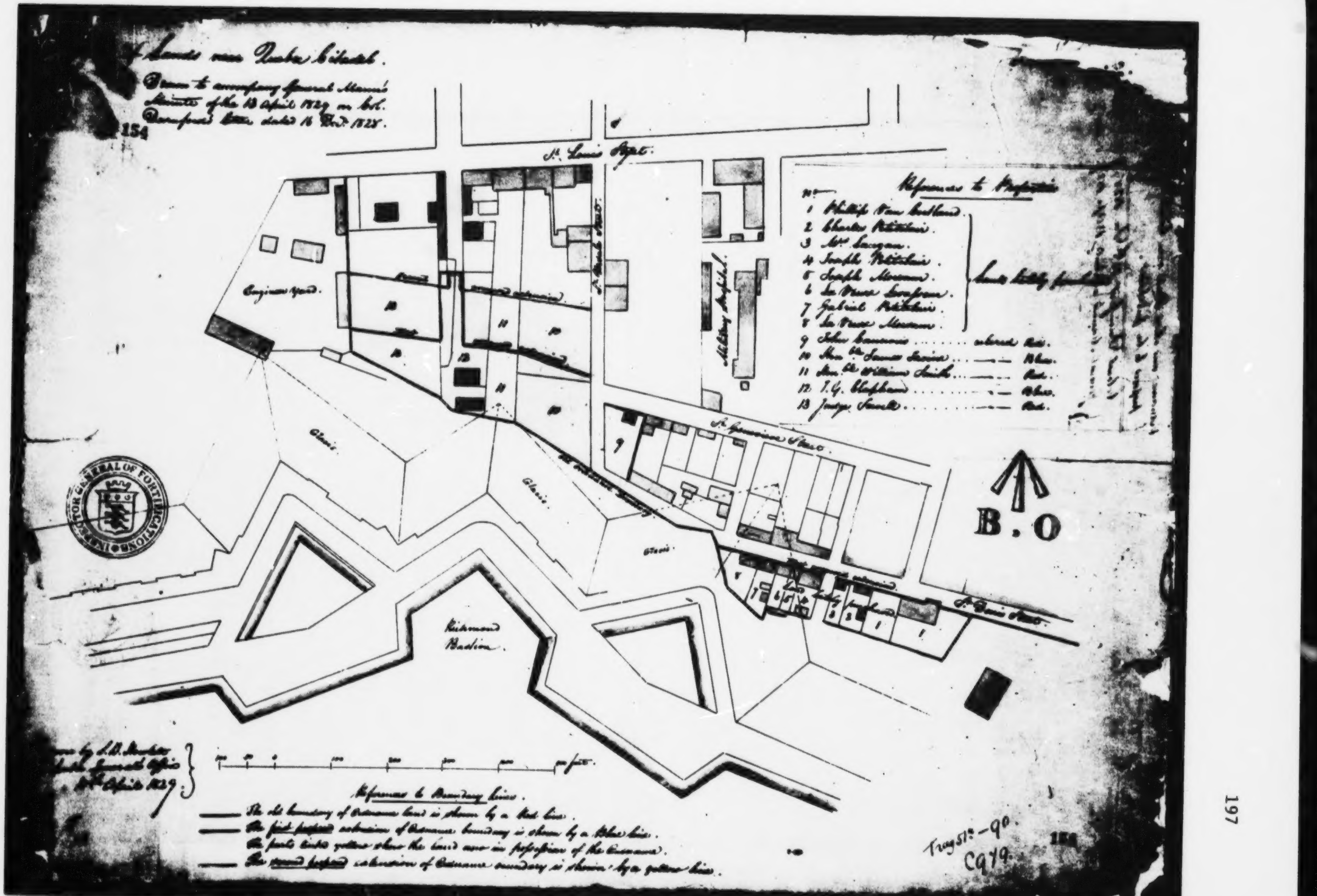
Lands near Quebec Citadel.
Drawn to accompany General Mann's Minute of the 13 April 1829 on Col. Durnford's letter dated 16 Decr 1828.
154
St. Louis Street
St. Ursule Street
Military Hospital
Engineer Yard
St. Genevieve Street
St. Denis Street
Glacis
Glacis
Glacis
Glacis
Richmond Bastion
B.O
Reference to Proprietors
No.
1 Phillip Van Cortland
2 Charles Petitclair
3 Mrs Langan
4 Joseph Petitclair
5 Joseph Morrow
6 La Veuve Lenfesse
7 Gabriel Petitclair
8 La Veuve Morrow
Lands lately purchased
9 John Cannon .... colored Red.
10 Hon. ble James Irvine ...... Blue.
11 Hon. ble William Smith ...... Red.
12 T.G. Clapham ...... Blue.
13 Judge Sewell ...... Red.
Drawn by J.B. Duberger Royal Engineer Office 18th April 1829
100 feet
Reference to Boundary Lines.
The old boundary of Ordnance land is shown by a Red line.
The first proposed extension of Ordnance boundary is shown by a Blue line.
The faint tinted yellow shows the land now in possession of the Ordnance.
The second proposed extension of Ordnance boundary is shown by a yellow line.
Treg 51-90.
CQ79.
154

Figure 11. The King's Wood Yard in 1830, from an anonymous drawing. This plan accompanied a letter from the notary, Archibald Campbell, dated February 6, 1830. It is part of a lengthy correspondence between him, his neighbour Dufresne, and the military, concerning lands that the latter wished to reappropriate to enlarge the wood yard. The problem here lay in the lots exchanged between Dufresne and Campbell after the 1822 purchase. The government later abandoned the proposed expansion. (Public Archives Canada.)

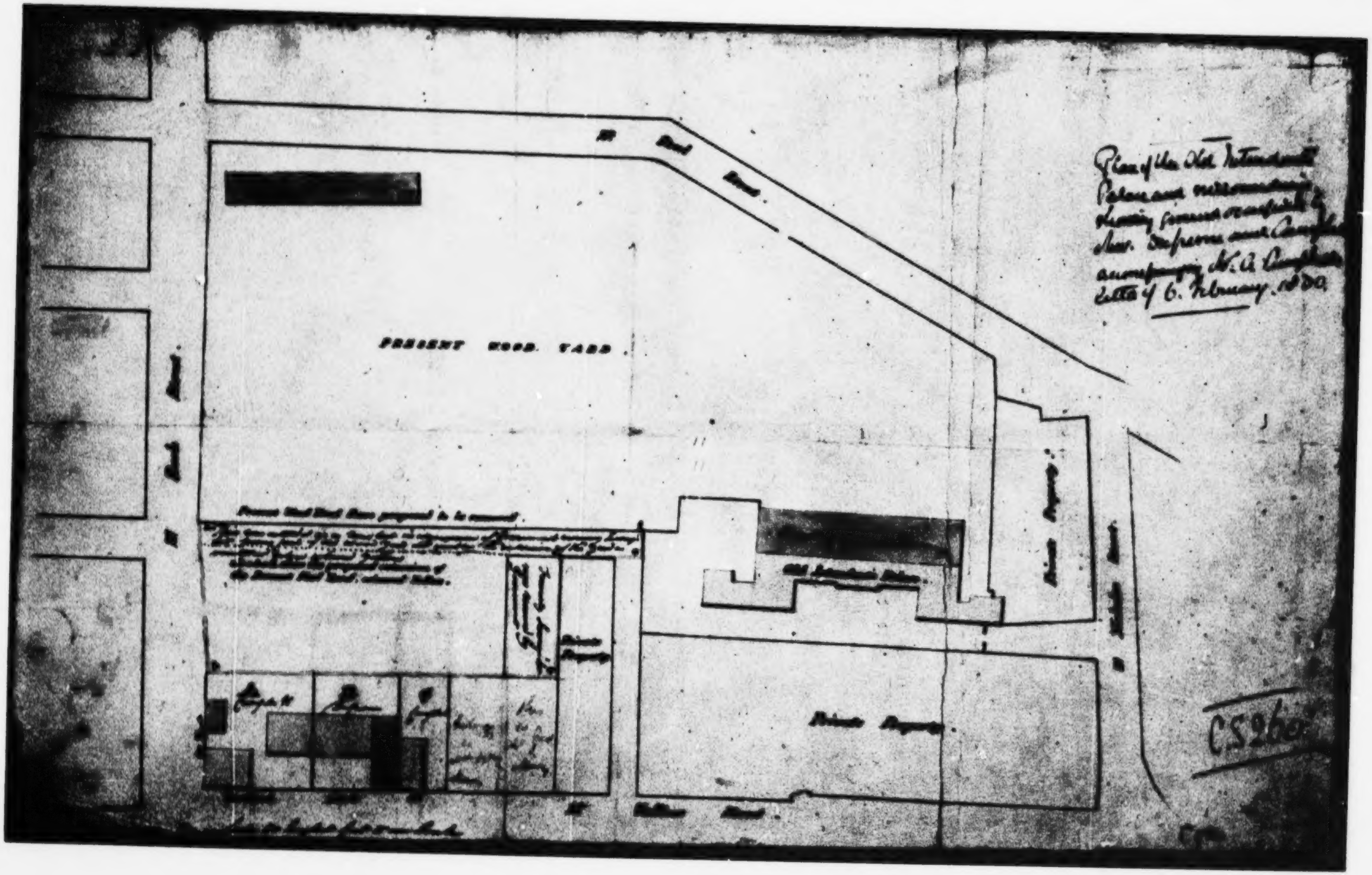
Plan of the Old Intendant's
Palace and [illegible]
showing [illegible]
Mess. Desjeanne and Com
accompanying Mr. A. [illegible]
letter of 6. February 18[illegible]
PRESENT WOOD YARD
Present Wood Yard Fence proposed to be removed
Old Intendant's Palace
Private Property
Private Property
Private Property
CS260

Figure 12. Military property in 1831, from a map by E.W. Durnford. This map was made at the height of military holdings in Quebec City. Military authorities at that time owned or rented Marchmont, the Exercising Grounds, Towers One and Two, the Ursuline Nuns' Property and the Villeray Fief south of Grande-Allée. In this section, we also see the properties of Bonner and Pelletier between the Exercising Grounds and the towers that were unsuccessfully disputed between 1840 and 1848, the Ursuline property purchased by Lampson and occupied "manu militari" in 1839, and Bandon Lodge (A & B), for which Marchmont was abandoned in 1835. North of Grande-Allée, the military occupied the land on which the towers stood and sought to acquire the property of Panet, Joly de Lotbinière and Dunn (C, D, E), which they finally obtained in 1846, with the exception of E. The dotted line marks the 200-yard boundary to which they wished to extend the glacis. Other holdings in the lower town or upper town are less visible; at the time, the problem was the obstruction of the glacis, and this is what Durnford is trying to show. (Public Archives Canada.)

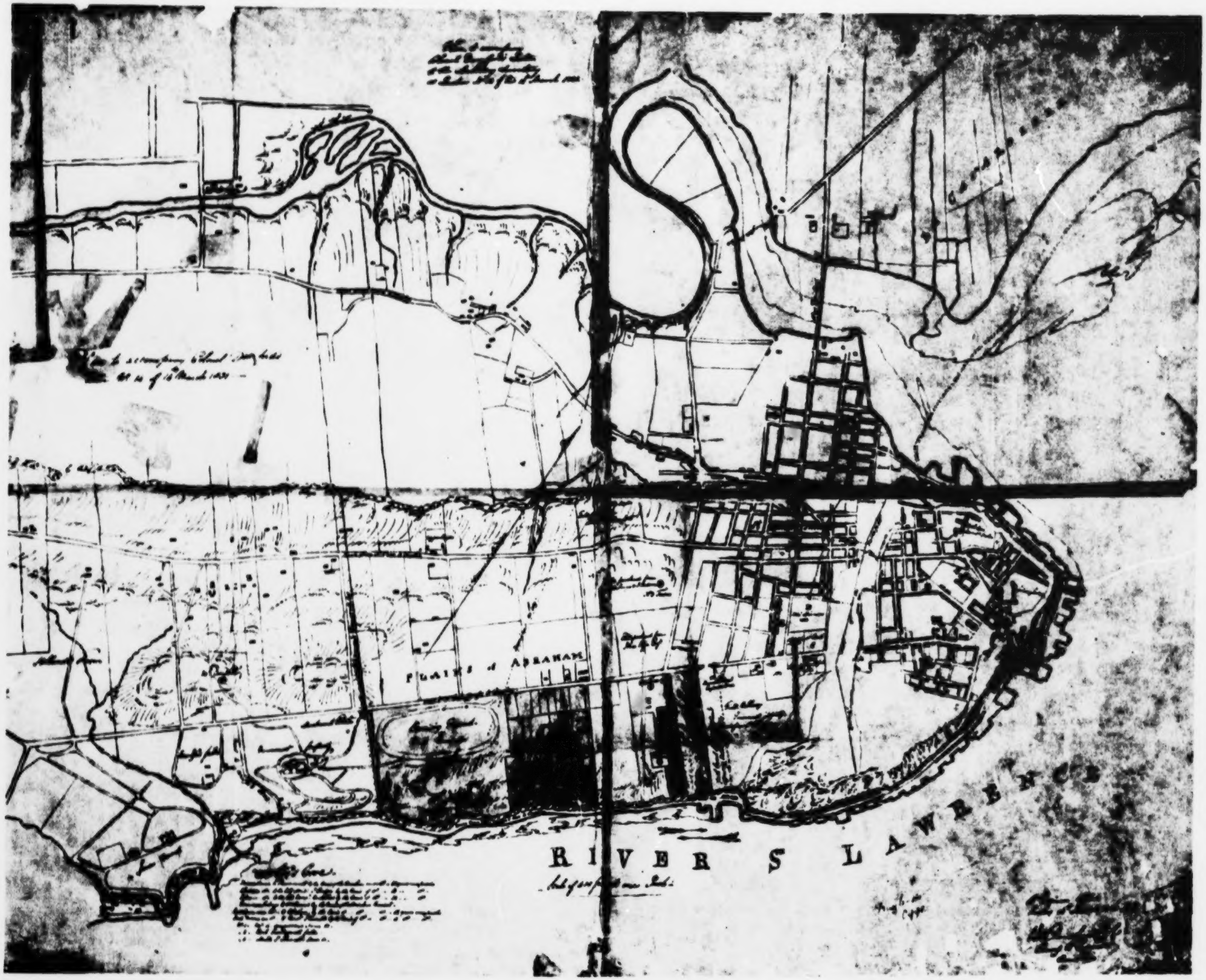
PLAINS of ABRAHAM
RIVER S LAWRENCE

Figure 13. Quebec City in 1845, from a map by A. Hawkins. This city map is interesting because of the proposed parcelling of Bonner's and Pelletier's properties, which the military had wanted to acquire since 1840. We see the extension of the faubourgs and the direction they had to take because of the obstacle presented by the military properties on the plains since the beginning of the century. Note the city limit this side of the Exercising Grounds. (Public Archives Canada.)

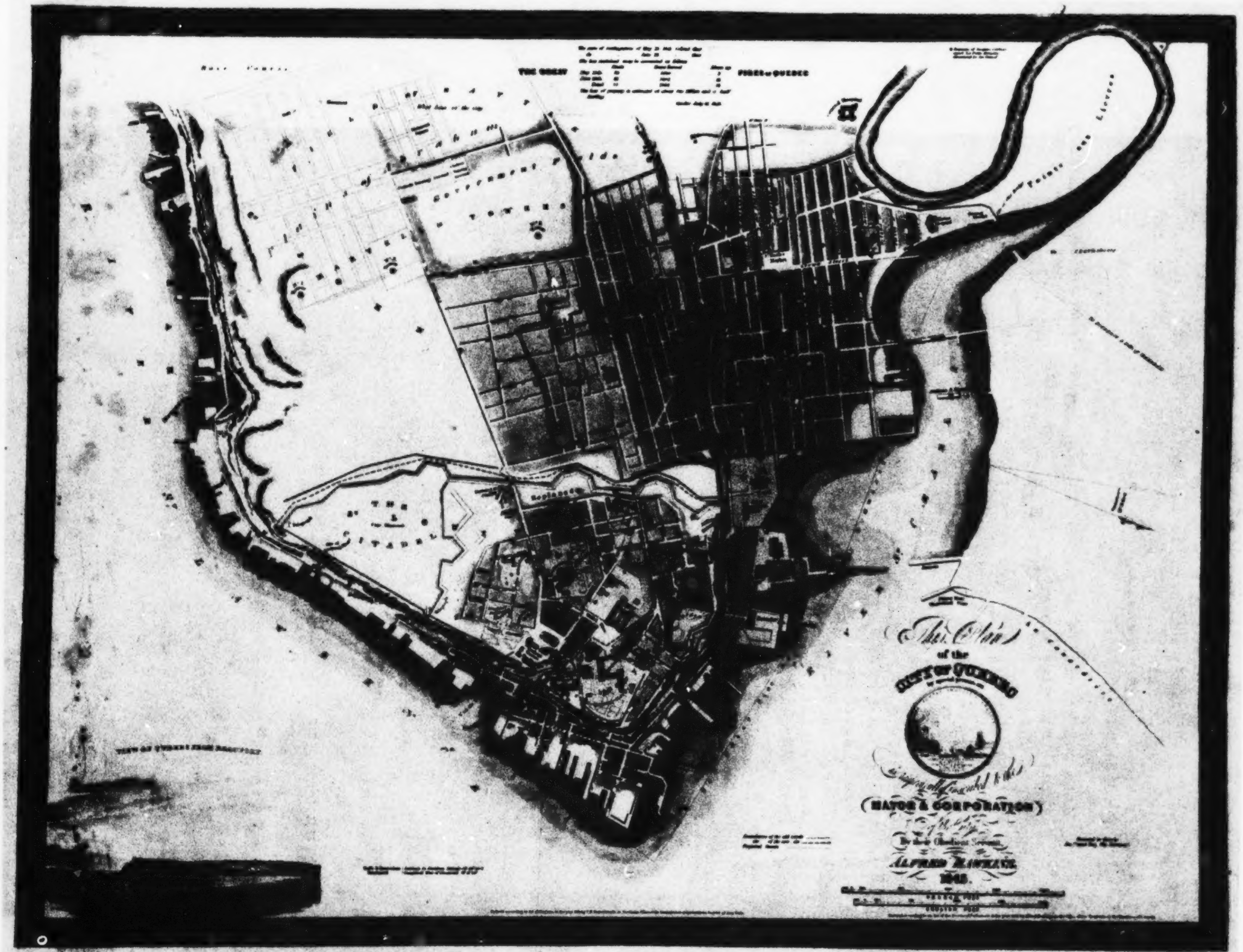
The Plan
of the
City of Quebec
(Mayor & Corporation)
Alfred Hawkins
1845.
The Great
Fires of Quebec

Figure 14. Military property in Quebec City in 1847, from a map by W.W. Holloway. This map was prepared at the time of the last acquisitions; this is why we have used it as a reference map. (Public Archives Canada.)

A: Walls and glacis
B: Citadel and glacis
C: King's Wharf
D: Inclined Plane Wharf
E: Palace Harbour
F: King's Wood Yard
G: Royal Engineers' Yard
H: Esplanade
I: Artillery Park
J: King's Redoubt
K: Jesuit Barracks
L: Château Gardens
M: Commissariat
N: Mount Carmel
O: Officer's Quarters and Military Hospital
P: Bandon Lodge
Q: King's Field
R: Villeray Fief
S: Urseline Nuns' Property
T: Lampson Property
U: Towers One and Two
V: Exercising Grounds
W: Marchmont
X: Cricket Field
Y: Tower Three
Z: Tower Four

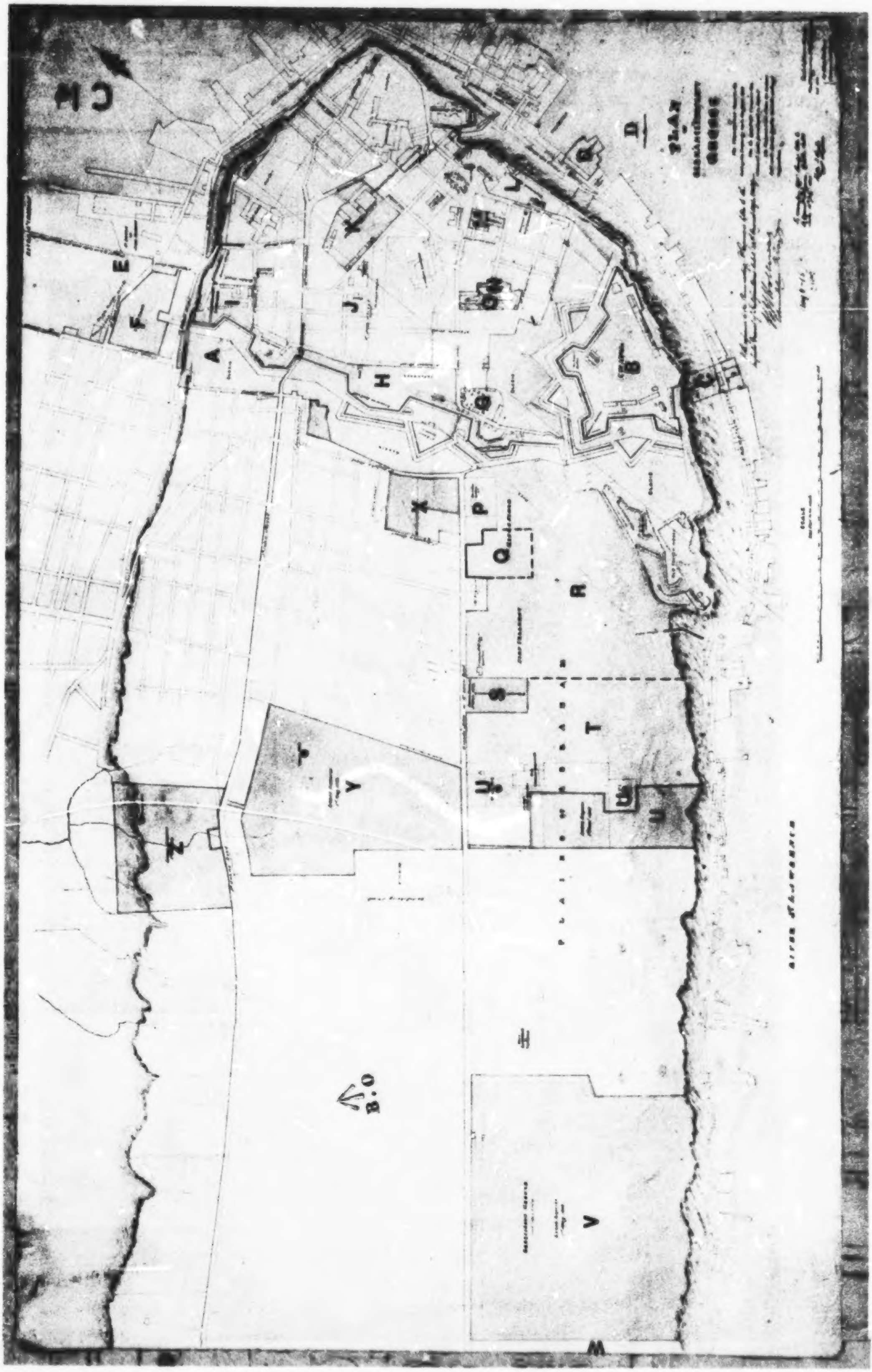
C
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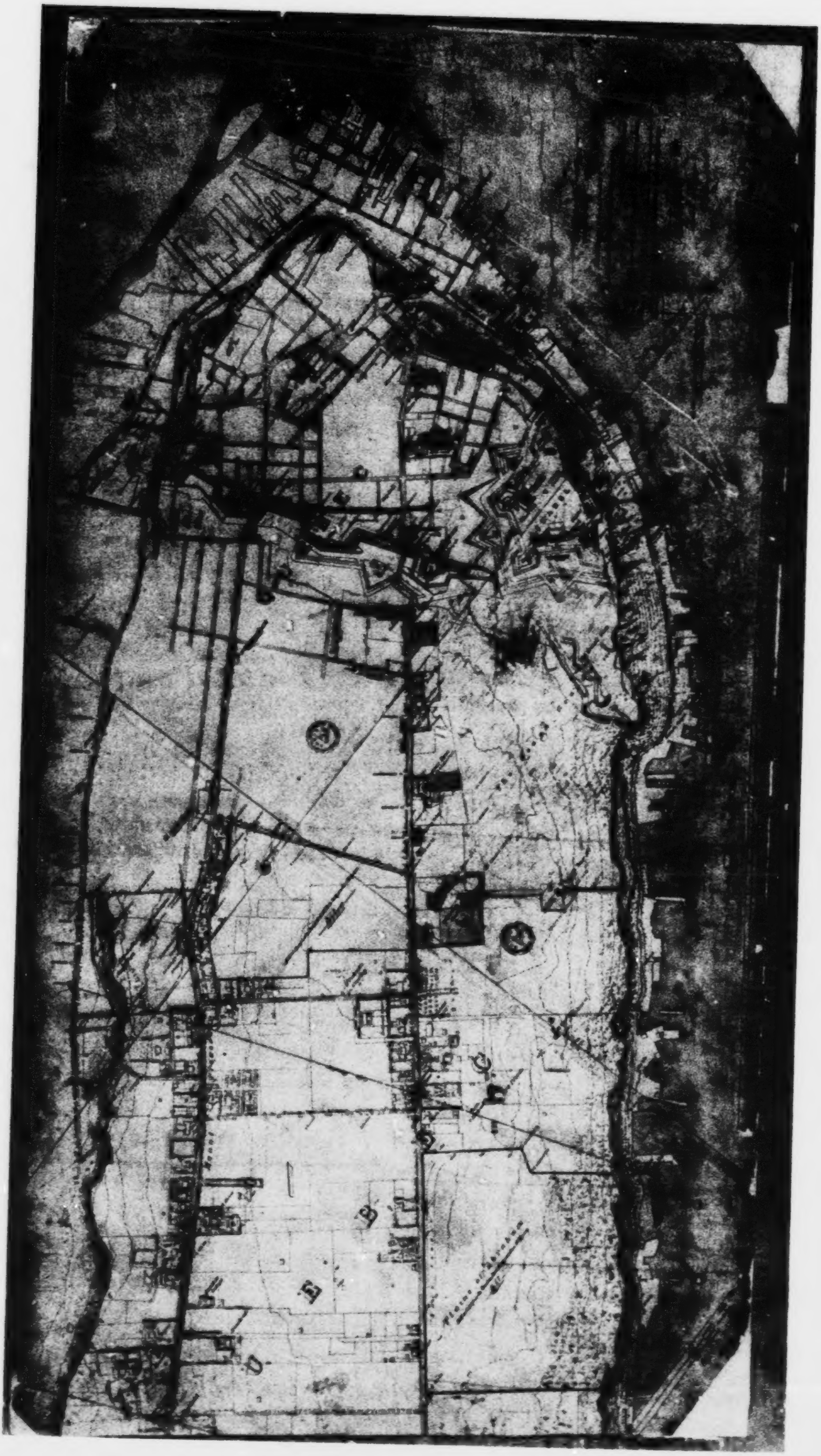
Figure 15. Quebec City in 1869, from a map by H.S. Sitwell. The sole purpose of this map is to show the reduced importance of military holdings. Note the increased number of houses along Sainte-Foy Road, particularly between Towers Three and Four. There was also an increase along Grande-Allée above Towers One and Two, where the province built a new prison. The Exercising Grounds became even more isolated. Finally, we see that the military themselves obstructed the glacis by constructing an imposing building near Saint-Jean Gate, for married soldiers and their families. (Public Archives Canada.)



Appendix A. Military Property in Quebec City: Acquisition and Problems[1]

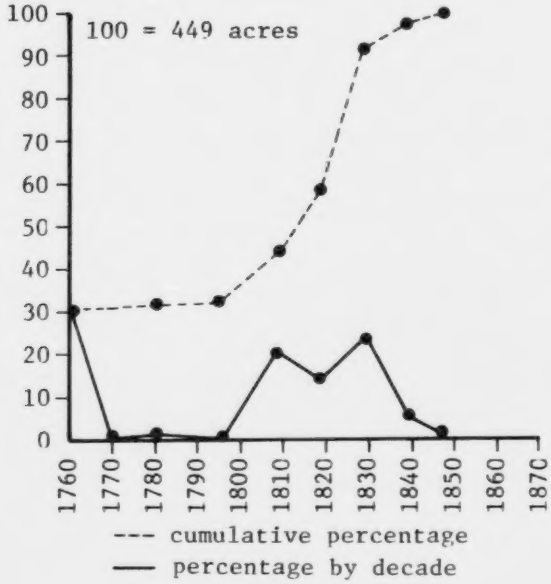


Figure 1. Number of acres acquired from 1760 to 1871

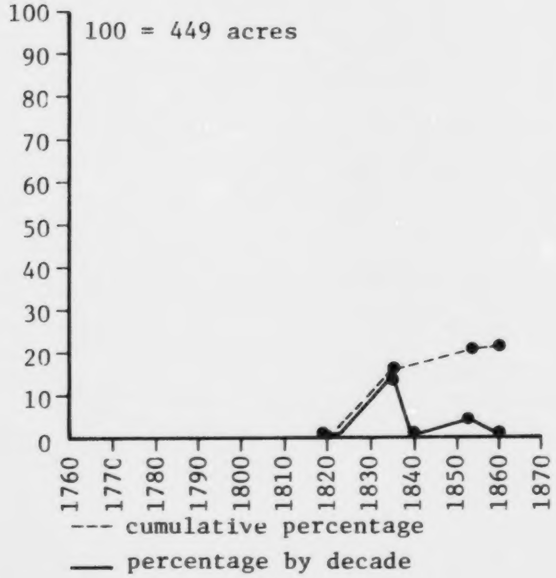


Figure 2. Number of acres disposed of from 1760 to 1871

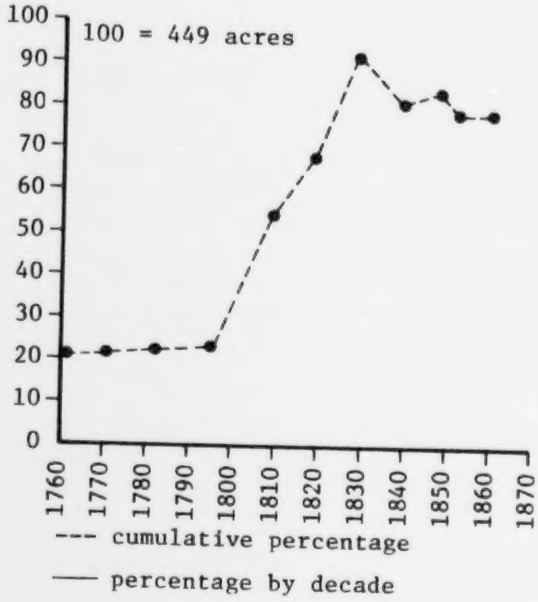


Figure 3. Number of acres held from 1760 to 1871

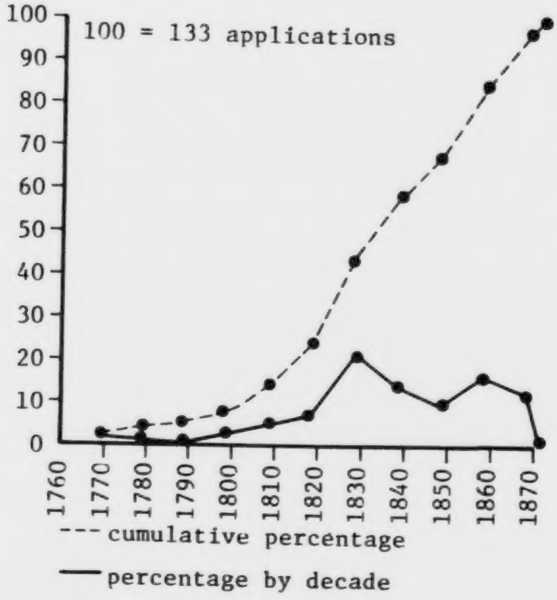


Figure 4. Number of applications: requests, problems and lawsuits

Appendix B. Some Problems Relating to Legislation Governing the Acquisition of Land by Military Authorities in Canada[1]

The Public Service requires that the Board of Ordnance should hold extensive Estates and Property for the Defences Barracks and Stores and the Military Service of the Realm, both in Great Britain and the Colonies -

Prior to the Year 1821 those Estates had been vested under Deeds of purchase or otherwise, in the King, or in some Officer, of the Ordnance & His Heirs, In trust for the Ordnance Service; but as it became necessary occasionally to sell, exchange, or lease, portions of this property, & to distrain for, rents or to commence and defend Suits at Law, in respect of intrusions & trespasses thereon, & the Crown not being capable of exceeding Conveyance in fee simple, and individual Officers in whose names Some of the Estates had been purchased, dying abroad, leaving infant heirs, or perhaps none, who could be found, much inconvenience was experienced from the want of a Law, enabling the Board of Ordnance and their Successors for the time being, to sell and execute legal Deeds of Conveyance or do other necessary legal acts in respect of this property.

To remedy which an Act was passed. 1st and 2nd Geo: 4th c.69, "for vesting all Estates and property occupied for the Ordnance Service in the Principal Officers of the Ordnance and for granting certain powers to the said Principal Officers."

By this Act all the Estates held for the Ordnance Service whether vested in the King or any Officer or Person - In Trust for the Department were transferred to and legally vested in the "Principal Officers of the Ordnance for the time being and their Successors in the Said Office."

And full Power was given to the Board and any three or more of them by that style & title and without naming them individually, to sell and dispose of these Estates and to execute Deeds of Conveyance, Contracts, and other legal instruments and to sue and defend in all actions in the same manner as might be done by private persons in regard to their Estates.

Upon the abolition of the late Barrack Board in the Year 1823 An Act was passed 3 Geo: 4th Cap. 108. for transferring all the Barrack Estates and Property to the Principal Officers of the Ordnance and upon the reduction of the numbers of the Members of the later Board from 5 to 3 in the Year 1832, it became necessary to amend the Ordnance Vesting Act accordingly by 2nd W^{m} 4th Cap. 25. any two or more of the Members of the Board were enabled to do all that could previously have been done by three or more members and they were by Sections 7, 9, and 10 expressly empowered so to act under the Style or Titles of "The Principal Officers of the Ordnance" without naming them or any of them.

The Ordnance possess very large Estates in the Canadas which have been purchased in the name of the Crown or of some Officers who happened at the time to be on duty in that Colony including much property - which at different periods had been set apart for that Service from the Crown Reserves - And also the Rideau Canal - which was constructed chiefly for Defence and is therefore necessarily under the charge of the Ordnance Department.

It was at one time thought that the before mentioned Vesting Acts applied to the Colonies but the Law Officers of the Crown on being consulted on that point were of a different opinion.

The reason for passing the Vesting Acts in Great Britain applying with equal force in the Canadas frequent unsuccessful attempts have been made to get similar Acts passed by the Legislative Assemblies of Upper and Lower Canada and an endeavour to obtain a Royal Charter from the Crown has been equally unsuccessful so that the Board could neither purchase nor sell and convey Lands in that Colony in their Official Capacity until recently, when, pursuant to the power vested in the Governor and Council of Lower Canada by the Act of the Imperial Parliament 1st and 2nd Vict: Cap. 9. "for making temporary "provision for the Government of Lower Canada" An Ordnance 2. Vict: Cap. 21. was passed by His Excellency and Council "for vesting all Estates and Property in the Province of Lower Canada occupied for the Ordnance Service in the Principal Officers of Her Majesty Ordnance and for granting certain powers to the said Principal Officers and for other purposes therein mentioned."

This Ordnance, a copy of which is herewith transmitted, is framed in precisely similiar terms to those of the Ordnance Vesting Acts of Great Britain, it being in fact almost a literal copy of it, but as doubts existed whether the Governor and Council had power under the Act 1st and 2nd Vict: cap. 9. to make permanent Laws. Another Act of the Imperial Parliament - 2nd and 3rd Vict: Cap. 52. was passed to render permanent every Law or Ordnance which by the terms or provisions thereof should be made to continue beyond the period mentioned in the previous Act.

The Ordnance in question must therefore it is presumed be deemed a permanent Law.

And it is proper also to add that to remove all doubts on that point a subsequent Ordnance of the Governor and Council of the Province 3rd and 4th Vict. 12 was passed expressly "to render permanent the before mentioned Ordnance respecting the Estates and Property of the Ordnance."

The Board have some time twice purchased an Estate near Quebec in Lower Canada from William Lampson Esq. for the Ordnance Service for the sum of £13,151..1..5 and as the sum is large, the Master-General and Board are desirous of obtaining the opinion of the Attorney and Solicitor General.

First - Whether the above Ordnance duly secures to this Department all the legal powers which it requires in respect to Land and other property in Lower Canada.

Secondly - And whether a Conveyance may be safely taken from William Lampson Esq. and all requisite parties (assuming the Title to be good) to "The Principal Officers of Her Majesty's Ordnance and their Successors in the said Office for ever" in conformity with the Terms of the Ordnance and as indeed is done in England under the Ordnance Vesting Acts.

It is proper to add that the Attorney General in Lower Canada has advised that such a Conveyance may be safely taken in another similar purchase under the Ordnance - And it is intended that the Conveyance from W. Lampson shall be prepared in the Colony by that Law Officer.

1. We are of opinion that the ordnance referred to does secure to the ordnance department all the necessary legal powers in respect of land and other property in Lower Canada.
2. A Conveyance may be safely taken as suggested in this quarry -

Temple

Appendix C. Legal Problems Inherent in the Acquisition of Land in Canada: Charles Grant vs. the Officers of the Ordnance[1]

I. Origin and nature of Lods et Ventes.

Maynard, Questions Notables; Liv. 4, Ch. 45.
Brodeau, Coutume de Paris; Art. 76, Nos. 12, 14, 15; pp. 575-6.--Edition of 1669.
Basnage, Coutume de Normandie; Art. 171, 2d paragraph; p. 291 of Vol. 1.--Edition of 1678.
Ferrière, Grande Coutume; Art. 20, Gl. 1, No. 4; Col. 437 of Vol. 1; 23, No. 2: Col. 515 of same; 78, Gl. 1, No. 1; Col. 1141-2 of same.
Pocquet, Traité des Fiefs; Liv. 3, Ch. 1, in fin.; p. 137, Edition of 1729.
Boutaric, Droits Seigneuriaux; Ch. 3, art. 1, No. 1 & Addition No. 2, by Sudre; p. 99.--Edition of 1767.
Freminville, Vrais Principes; Vo. Lods & Ventes, in init.; pp. 8 & 9 of Vol. 1.--Edition of 1769.
Guyot, Traité des Fiefs; "Droit de Relief;" Ch. 1, Nos. 3 & 4; pp. 72-73 of Vol. 2. "Du Quint & Lods & Ventes," Ch. 1, No. 17; pp. 210 & 211 of Vol. 3.--Edition of 1746 & suiv.
Perrier, Arrêts,--Notes on, by Raviot; Qu. 257, Note No. 7; p. 335 of Vol. 2.--Edition of 1735.
Pothier, Coutume d'Orléans; Int. Tit. Fiefs, No. 119.
Int. Tit. Cens, No. 16.
Preudhomme, Traité des Biens en Roture; Liv. 3, Ch. 1; p. 137.
Fonmaur, Traité de Lods et Ventes; No. 17; pp. 14-16.
Hervé, Théorie des Matières Féodales & Censuelles; Vol. 1, pp. 196-203. Vol. 3, pp. 3 & 4.

II. Principle always recognized, that consent (express or constructive) of Seignior, to alienation, is consideration on which Lods dependent.

1. In argument, as to whether Donation exempt.
   Maynard,; Liv. 4, ch. 41.
   DeCormis, Consultations; Cent. 4, ch. 52; Col. 925-931 of Vol. 1.--Edition of 1735.

2. Id. as to case of Testamentary Disposition.
   DeCormis, ubi suprà; Col. 928-9.

3. Id. as to case of Eviction of "tiers possesseur par l'action hypothécaire d'un créancier qui se colloque pour sa dette."
   Dupérier, Questions Notables; Liv. 4, Qu. 19; pp. 430-33 of Vol. 1 of Works.--Edition of 1759.

4. Id. as to case of Décrêt.
   Dumoulin, Coutume de Paris; art 20, Gl. 5, No. 48; p. 334 of Vol. 1 of Works.
   D'Argentré, Coutume de Bretagne; Art. 59, Not. 4, No. 23; Col. 267 of Edition of 1621.
   DeLaudimiis, Ch. 1, art 23; Columns 2372-3 of same.
   Pocquet; Liv. 3, Ch. 4, Section 2; p. 156.
   Sudre, additions to Boutaric; Ch. 3, Nos. 4 & 5; pp. 99 & 100.

5. Id. as to cases of Partage Licitation.
   Dumoulin, Coutume de Paris; art. 33, Gl. 1. Nos. 69-73. pp. 406-7 of Vol. 1.
   Papon, Arrêts; Liv. 13, tit. 2, No. 23; with addn. by Chenu: pp. 801-2.--Edition of 1607.
   D'Argentré, Coutume de Bretagne; Art. 73, Not. 4, No. 8; Col. 320-3.
   De Laudimiis; art 24; Col. 2373.
   Louet, Arrêts; I., Som. 9, 2d paragraph, in fin.; p. 46 of Vol. 2.--Edition of 1693.
   Salvaing, Usage des Fiefs; Ch. 80, 17th & 18th paragraphs; p. 144 of Pt. 2.
   Ferrière, Note on Bacquet, Droit des Franc-Fiefs; 1st Part, Ch. 7, No. 24; p. 288 of Vol. 2.
   Grande Coutume; Art. 80, Nos. 4 & 6; Col. 1222-5 of Vol. 1.

6. Id. as to cases of Retrait Lignager, & (as regards Bretagne) Féodal.
   Dumoulin, Coutume de Paris; art 78, Gl. 1, No. 2; p. 732 of Vol. 1.
   20, Gl. 1, No. 78; p. 311 of same.
   78, Gl. 1, No. 112; p. 747 of same.
   D'Argentré, Coutume de Bretagne; Art. 73, Not. 4, No. 1; Col. 319.

III. Early Common Law of France, as to right of Expropriation or Retrait pour cause publique.

Dumoulin, Coutume de Paris; art 76, Gl. 1, Nos. 27-9. p. 721 of Vol. 1.
Lonet, Arrêts; A. Som. 6; and Notes of Brodeau; pp. 19-21 of Vol. 1.
LeBret, Traité de Souveraineté; Liv. 4, Ch. 10; 160-1.--Edition of 1689.
Despeinses; Pt. 1, Tit. 1, Sep. 3, No. 9; p. 22 of Vol. 1.--Edition of 1750.

Dumat, Loix Civiles; Pt. 1, Liv. 1, Tit. 2, See. 13, Nos. 1 & 2; pp. 45-6 of Vol. 1.--Edition of 1777.

IV. Direct Authorities as to non-exigibility of Lods on Retrait pour Cause Publique.

Chopin. This writer's three works commenting on the Custom of Paris, and Custom of Anjou, and treating of the Domain, are all cited as furnishing texts on this point, by different writers; but the citations not perfectly corresponding, and the undersigned having been unable to verify them, it is not attempted here to give them.

Maynard; Liv. 4, Ch. 43 and 50.

LaRocheflavin, Droits Seigneuriaux; Ch. 38, Art I; p. 726 of 4to Edn. of 1682, with notes of Graverol. Nota. There is also a folio Edn. of same date with addns. by Cambolas. But neither contains any modification of, or doubt as to, LaRocheflavin's opinion on this point.

Lanrens Bouchel, Bibliothêque du Droit Français; Vo. Lods et Ventes; p. 530 of Vol. 2.

Frain, Arrêts, with addns. by Hévin; Arrêt 68; p. 254 et seq.--Report, in detail, of Arrêt of 1619 of Parlement de Bretagne. Cites, intes cita, treatise of Servin, as attesting continued Jurisprudence of Parlement de Paris.

D'Olive, Questions Notables; Liv. 2, Ch. 16; pp. 332 and 338.--Establishing, (arguendo on part of Seignior,) continued Jurisprudence of Parlement de Toulouse, in 1632 and 1635.

Despeisses; Droits Seigneuriaux, Tit. 4, Art. 3, Sec. 5, Pt. 7, No. 3; p. 79 of Vol. 3--Not amended or commented on by Lacombe in 1750.

La Peyrère, Vo. Vente, No. 55; p. 886 of Edition of 1808.

Pocquet; Liv. 3, Ch. 6, art 7; p. 240.

Brillon, Dictionnaire des Arrêts; Vo. Lods, No. 75; p. 145 of Vol. 4.

La Planche, Traité du Domaine; Liv. 4, Ch. 4; in fin; p. 249 of Vol. 1.

Lacombe, Recueil; Vo. Lods & Ventes; p. 440.--Ed. of 1769.

Sudre, Additions to Boutaric; Ch. 3, No. 6; p. 100.

Freminville, Pratique Universelle; Vol. 5, p. 804.--Edition of 1778.

Guyot, Traité des Fiefs; "Du Quint et Lods et Ventes," Ch. 13; p. 511 of Vol. 3.

"Du Retrait Seigneurial," Ch. 3, No. 16; p. 24 of Vol. 4.

Institutes Féodales; Ch. 6, No. 19; p. 752 of Vol. 6.

Raviot, Notes on Perrier; Qu. 124, No. 24; p. 371 of Vol. 1.

Pothier, Coutume d'Orléans; Int. Tit. Fiefs, No. 164.

Traité des Fiefs; Pt. 1, Ch. 5, Pt. 1, Art. 4.

Bourjon; Liv. 2, Tit. 4, Ch. 4, Sec. 2, No. 8, p. 272 of Vol. 1.

Denisart (Ancien); Vo. Lods; pp. 183-84 of Vol. 3.

Renauldon, Dictionnaire des Fiefs; Vo. Lods; p. 66 of Vol. 2 Vo. Cens; p. 139 of Vol. 1.

Preudhomme; Liv. 3, Ch. 51; pp. 197-98.

Fonmaur; No. 235, pp. 214-15.
Hervé; Vol. 3, pp. 3, 4, 23 & 24.

V. Indirect Do.; Retrait Lignager not admissible against Retrait pour Cause Publique; a fortiori, therefore no ouverture from latter to Retrait Féodal, Quint or Lods.

Frain, ubi suprà.--Citation of Arrêt of 1571, where this held in favor of Echevins of Chartres, in case of land acquired for an Arsenal.
Duplessis, Traité du Retrait Lignager; Ch. 7, Sec. 2; p. 328 of Vol. 1.--Edition of 1726.
Ferrière, Grande Coutume; Art. 22, Gl. 1, No. 4; columns 511-2 of Vol. 1.

VI. Marked distinctions between case of Retrait pour Cause Publique and mere case of Acquisition by Crown; especially as latter commonly arose in earlier periods of French History.

1. King originally held under obligation to Vassals, to "vider ses mains" of all lands in their mouvance, if by them required.
   DuMoulin, Coutume de Paris; art 20, Gl. 4, no. 3; p. 319 of Vol. 1.
   73, Gl. 2, No. 6; pp. 679-80 of same.
   Bacquet, Droits de Justice, Ch. 12, Nos. 1, 2; pp. 60-61 of Vol. 1.--Edition of 1744.
   Husson, in fin. of Vol. 2 of Duplessis; pp. 88-92.--Edition of 1726.
2. Practice (during long early period) more or less settled, for King to do homage by Deputy, and, otherwise act towards Vassals, as though privately lands within and subject to their mouvance.

   Bacquet, Droits de Justice; Ch. 12, No. 3; and Remarks in loc. by Ferrière; pp. 61-62 of Vol. 1
   LaPlanche, Liv. 2, Ch. 2, Nos. 15 and 16; pp. 78-80 of Vol. 1.
   Guyot, Tr. des Fiefs; "De la Foi et Hommage," Ch. 3, No. 3; pp. 212-13 of Vol. 4.
   Hervé; Vol. 1. pp. 358-61.

3. Later doctrine, that lands acquired by King could not be held to remain within mouvance of Vassal.

   Bacquet, and Remarks of Ferrière; ubi suprà.
   LaPlanche; Liv. 2, Ch. 2, No. 17; p. 80 of Vol. 1.
   Guyot; ubi suprà.
   Bourion; Liv. 2, Tit. 4, Ch. 8, Nos. 1 and 2; p. 304 of Vol. 1.
   Dictionnaire Raisonné des Domaines; Vo. Acquisitions faites par le Roy, in init.; p. 17 of Vol. 1.--Rouen, 1762.

VII. Claim of Seignior to Indemnité was for such loss of Mouvance.

Bacquet, and Remarks of Ferrière; ubi suprd.
Loyseau, Les Seigneuries; Ch. 12, No. 87; pp. 71-72.
LaPlanche; ubi suprd.
Guyot; ubi suprd. and p. 214 of same Vol.
Dictionnaire Raisonné des Domaines; Vo. Indemnité due par le Roi, p. 529 of Vol.2.
LaGarde, Traité Historique des Droits du Souverain en France; Ch. 11, Nos. 70-75; pp. 652-55 of Vol. 1.

VIII. Edit of 1667 originally intended to cover case only of Acquisitions by voluntary purchase not falling within rule of Retrait pour Cause Publique, and which were therefore clearly liable to Lods.

Ordonnances de Néron; Vol. 2, p. 16; where text of Edit given.

IX. Declaration of 1722 extended rule of Edit of 1667 to all Acquisitions of Crown; notwithstanding resistance of Seigniors; such rule in fact allowing them (Lods included) a much smaller Indemnité than the older usages would have given them,--in cases even, where Retrait pour cause public might otherwise have been set up by the Crown in bar of claim to Lods.

Dictionnaire Raisonné des Domaines; ubi suprd. Where however the tenor of the Edit of 1667, as contradistinguished from that of the Declaration of 1722, is not accurately stated.
La Garde; ubi suprd. pp. 652-54.--Where circumstances attending Arrêt of 1727 are detailed.
Hervé; Vol. 6, pp. 625-29.

X. Provincial Legislation, as vesting in Respondents the right of Expropriation or Retrait pour cause publique, in this case put in force; and leaving untouched the Common Law of the Province, in respect of pretension of Seignior to Lods by reason of the exercise of such right.

Provincial Statute, 7th Victoria, Ch. 11; Sections 9, 16, 19 and 26.

XI. Provincial Jurisprudence, indicative of tenor of such Common Law before passing of Statute 7th Victoria, Ch. 11.

Cause No. 213.--Case before Court of King's Bench for the District of Quebec, Manly Gore, Plaintiff, vs. E.W. Durnford, Defendent; proceedings after judgement, about the year 1828.

BETHUNE & DUNCAN,
For Respondents.

Montreal, 2d October, 1850.

Appendix D. Transactions for Expropriation of Land During Construction of the Citadel.

The properties are numbered in the order in which they were found from east to west on Saint-Denis Street, and numbers correspond to those in Figure 6.

Approximate value, as estimated on January 19, 1825.

The following properties were totally expropriated:

1.	Van Corlandt, P.	£ 3500
2.	Petitclair, C.	700
3.	Langan, Vve	(not estimated)
4.	Petitclair, J.	1800
5.	Moisan, J.	(not estimated)
6.	Levasseur, P.	700
7.	Petitclair, G.	1400
8.	Moisan, Vve	700

The following properties were only partially expropriated:

9.	Cannon, J.	£ 937.10
10.	Irvine, Hon.	1755
11.	Smith, Hon.	605
12.	Clapham, J.	2500
13.	Sewell, Hon.	1328.8
	Total	15925.18

Values determined by arbitration on February 17, 1826.

Van Cortlandt, P.	3125.0.0
Petitclair, C.	562.8.0
Langan, Vve	520.10.0
Petitclair, J.	2110.1.0
Moisan, J.	354.16.0
Levasseur, P.	383.2.0
Petitclair, G.	780.10.0
Moisan, Vve	828.6.6
Cannon, J.	1301.10.0
Irvine, Hon.	3318.3.0
Smith, Hon.	979.4.0
Clapham, J.	4434.5.9
Sewell, Hon.	1239.14.0
Total	19937.10.9

These figures were judged to be much too high by military authorities in Great Britain, and they decided not to purchase if the commander of the Royal Engineers in Quebec City could not manage to get the price lowered.

Values determined by a second arbitration on May 17, 1827.

Van Cortlandt, P.	3000	
Petitclair, C.	433.6.8	
Langan, Vve	520.10.0	
Petitclair, J.	1560	
Moisan, J.	281.13.4	
Levasseur, P.	281.13.4	
Petitclair, G.	563.6.8	
Moisan, Vve	563.6.8	(7203.16.3)

The expropriated portion of the following properties was increased considerably. *See* Figure 6.

Cannon, J.	not determined
Irvine, Hon.	2405.13.2 1/4
Smith, Hon.	not determined
Clapham, J.	not determined
Sewell, Hon.	not determined

Value determined by a third estimate in March 1829.

Cannon, J.	1000	
Irvine, Hon.	3500	
Smith, Hon.	1200	
Clapham, J.	4400	
Sewell, Hon.	2400	(12,500)

Appendix E. Short List of Persons in Contact with the Military Between 1760 and 1871[1]

This list is not complete; it was drawn up from purchase-sales transactions, requests, petitions, problems and lawsuits that involved a person or group of persons. When a document was signed by 15 or more people we omitted them since this was not the aim of our research. This list is therefore meant only to indicate the numerous relationships established between the townspeople and military authorities. For easy reference, we have listed the names alphabetically; an asterick beside a name indicates a purchaser or seller.

Alexander, Samuel
Allen, Thomas
Allsopp, George W.
Anderson, Anthony*
Anderson, John*
Antrobus, John
Archer,
Ashwood, Thomas
Atkinson, Henry*
Aubert de Gaspé, Philippe

Barrett, F.
Barrington, James
Baxter, John
Beatson, Capt.
Beaulieu, J.-B.
Bélanger, Charlotte
Bélanger, Jean*
Bell, John*
Bellet, François
Birch, James
Bistodeau, Jean*
Bonnefield, Vve*
Bonner, John*
Bouchette, Jos.
Boutillier, William*
Bowen, Juge
Bréhaut, Peter*
Burrage,
Burstall
Buteau, François

Campbell, Archibald*
Campbell, Felix
Cannon, John*
Carroll, Arthur
Chinique, Martin
Christie, Robert*
Clapham, John*
Clarke, rev.
Clearihue, J.*
Coffin, John
Coffin, Thomas*
Cooke, Robert
Crebassa, Henry*
Cuvillier, A.*

Dame, Louis
Day, John
Deblois, Joseph
Douglass,
Doyat, Georges
Drapeau, Vve
Drolet, François
Dufresne, Louis-F.*
Dumlin, J.
Dunn, William*
Duval,

Elmsley, judge*

Farrell, J.
Ferguson, Archibald*
Finlay,
Finn, Roger

Fluke, James
Forsyth, J.B.
Fowler, Vve
Fraser, John
Fulton, Robert

Gain, G.*
Garneau, G.
Gauvin, Vve*
Gauvreau, Jos.*
Gilchrin, Thomas
Gilmour, Allen
Gingras, Pierre
Girard, François
Girouard,
Giroux, Pierre
Grant, Frederic
Grant, William
Grenier, Jean-Baptiste

Haigh, William
Hall, Jeffrey
Hart, Jonathan
Harvey, John*
Hay, John*
Haussman, M.
Henderson, William*
Hill, N.
holland, heirs
Holland, Samuel*
Holmes, William*

Irvine, Hon.*
Irwins,
Isoir dit Provençal, J.

Jackson,
Joly de Lotbinière*
Jones, John
Joseph, M.
Jourdain, Charles*
Jourdain, Michel*

Kemble,
Kerr, James*
King, Wm.

Lacroix, Louis
Lafontaine, R.
Lampson, William*
Langan, Patrick*

Langlois, Jean
Langlois, Peter
Languedoc, François
Laporte, Jean-Baptiste
Larue, Edouard
LaRue, Nazaire
Lasher, rev.
Lepper, Lloyd*
Levasseur, Pierre*
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Lloyd, Thomas*
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Mackenzie, Murdock
Maloin,
Marié, Charles
Martin, Harriet
Martineau, Charles*
Massue, Gaspard
Massue, Louis*
McCance, William
McIntyre, Angus
Mills, Joseph
Milton, Stephen
Moisan, Joseph*
Moisan, Vve*
Monoghan, John
Montizambert, Louis*
Moorhead, John*
Morrisson, George
Mountain, Mary
Mure, John
Murray, Richard*

Napier, D.C.

O'Connor, Denis
O'Hare, Denis
O'Neil, Denis
O'Neil, Hugh

Pagan, John
Painter, John*
Panet, François*
Panet, Philippe
Parisien, E.*
Paterson, Robert*
Pelletier, Pierre*
Perreault,
Petitclair, Charles*
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Petitclair, Joseph*

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Prévost, Vve*
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Ray, Thomas
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Robert,
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Young, John

ENDNOTES

Introduction

1 André Charbonneau, Claudette Lacelle and Marc Lafrance, *Evolution structurale du Parc de l'Artillerie et du bastion Saint-Jean, Québec: 1749-1903*, Manuscript Report Series No. 128 (Ottawa: Parks Canada, 1974).

2 Claudette Lacelle, *The British Garrison in Quebec City as Described in Newspapers from 1764 to 1840*, Manuscript Report Series No. 183 (Ottawa: Parks Canada, 1976). (Now published in *History and Archaeology* No. 23 [1979], Ottawa. The figures presented here and used in the above-mentioned report are not totally reliable and should be used with caution. On this subject, *see* Hubert Charbonneau *et al*., *La population du Québec: études retrospectives* (Quebec: Les éditions du Boréal Express, 1973), p. 12.

3 There is no need to list all the authors who have traced the city's history; we would merely note the work by Antonio Drolet, *La ville de Québec, histoire municipale*, Vol. II: *Régime anglais jusqu'à l'incorporation (1759-1839)*, Vol. III: *De l'incorporation à la Confédération (1833-1867)* (Quebec: La Société historique de Québec, 1965-67) and the article by Edward H. Dahl, Hélène Espesset, Marc Lafrance and Thiery Ruddell, "Evolution de la ville de Québec" in *La Ville de Québec, 1800-1850: un inventaire de cartes et plans*, History Division, No. 13 (Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, 1975), pp. 11-52.

4 Fernand Ouellet, *Histoire économique et sociale du Québec, 1760-1850; structures et conjoncture* (Montreal: Fides, 1966), Chap. 7.

5 On this subject *see* the article by Ivan J. Saunders, "A History of Martello Towers in the Defence of British North America, 1796-1871," *Canadian Historic Sites: Occasional Papers in Archaeology and History/Lieux historiques canadiens: cahiers d'archéologie et d'histoire*, No. 15 (1976), pp. 5-169.

6 Glenn A. Steppler, *Québec, the Gibraltar of North America?* Manuscript Report Series No. 224 (Ottawa: Parks Canada, 1977), Chaps. 5 and 6.

7 This is explained by the fact that after the property was returned to the federal government in 1871, some properties were handed over to the Department of the Interior, others to the Department of National Defence; later on, others went to the Department of Mines and Resources. Consequently, all the relevant documentation on these properties was transferred en masse with each move. This greatly complicates the researcher's work.

8 Probably more than one transaction could be found or checked; for example, DeLanaudière's in the years following the Conquest.

Pierre-Georges Roy mentions it in "Ephémérides québecoises," Action Sociale, Excerpt No. 34 (8 August 1908), but we were unable to check it.

9 Ivanhoë Caron, La colonisation de la province de Québec débuts du régime anglais, 1760-1791 (Quebec: L'Action sociale Ltée, 1923), pp. 42-45 and 286-87.

10 See, for example, Joseph Signay, Recensement de la ville de Québec en 1818, presentation by Honorius Provost (Quebec: La Société historique de Québec, 1976).

Military Property in Quebec City

1 Canada. Public Archives (hereafter cited as PAC), MG13, WO44, Vol. 729. The decision was taken in 1822, but the transfer does not seem to have occurred until 1826.

2 Glenn A. Steppler, op. cit., Chap. 4.

3 PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 431, p. 160.

4 PAC, RG8, II, Vol. 35, pp. 5-19; RG8, I, Vol. 600A, pp. 1c-1e.

5 PAC, RG8, II, Vol. 74, pp. 2-18.

6 PAC, RG8, II, Vol. 74, pp. 2-22.

7 PAC, MG13, WO32, Vol. 578, Table B.

8 Ibid.

9 Ibid.

10 PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 431, p. 160.

11 PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 600A, p. 1c.

12 Ibid., p. 156. On this subject, also see Pierre-Georges Roy, Inventaire des Concessions en fief et seigneurie fois et hommages, et aveux et dénombrements conservés aux Archives de la Province de Québec (Beauceville: L'Eclaireur Ltée, 1927), Vol. 2, pp. 95-98 and Marcel Trudel, Le terrier du Saint-Laurent en 1663 (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1973), pp. 205-7.

13 It is impossible for us to list all the sources of the table; they would probably comprise almost all of the documentation.

14 PAC, RG8, II, Vol. 98, p. 14.

15 See, among others, the maps in PAC, RG24, Vol. 6, 343, File H.Q. 71-4-7, Part 1, p. 114; MG13, WO55, Vol. 1, 618, p. 238.

16 PAC, RG24, loc. cit.

17 PAC, RG24, Vol. 6, 349, File H.Q. 71-4-152; see also Statutes of Canada (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1867), p. 40.

18 Canada. Department of Justice. File relating to the Durham-Dufferin Terrace, File 28/1868.

19 PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 600A, p. 159.

20 These are still the same inventories.

21 This calculation was based on the data from Pierre Camu, "Le paysage urbain de Québec," Geographical Bulletin No. 10 (1957) p. 25, where it is stated that the city had a total area of 1.63 square miles; see Edward H. Dahl, op. cit., p. 18.

22 See, among others, the list of leases in PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 1628, pp. 2-3, which covers the years 1823-53, although only partly, and the list in Vol. 1413, p. 367 which goes back to 1859.

23 Glenn A. Steppler, op. cit. This is the overall impression we derived from this work.

Principles of Acquisition and Legal Implications

1 Henri Brun, Le territoire du Québec. Six études juridiques (Quebec: Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 1974); see chapter entitled "Le Droit québecois et l'eau, 1663-1969," pp. 147-203. To understand the entire scope of the problem, see also The Consolidated Status for Lower Canada (Quebec: Derbishire and Desbarats, 1861), Chap. 35, pp. 324-483.

2 George Smith, An Universal Military Dictionary (London: J. Millan, 1779), pp. 104-5.

3 PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 603, pp. 20-24. Here they are referring to reports of certain Royal Engineers. See, for example, Mann's report in PAC, RG8, II, Vol. 9.

4 PAC, RG8, II, Vol. 13, pp. 26-35.

5 PAC, MG24, A12, Vol. 4, Part 2; see the letter of 28 August 1821.

6 PAC, MG13, WO44, Vol. 729, Circular of 26 May 1830.

7 Durnford was commanding officer of the Royal Engineers in Quebec City from 1816 to 1831. In a letter dated 14 March 1831, he again discusses each of his predecessors' interventions. See, PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 603, pp. 20-24.

8 PAC, MG13, WO44, Vol. 38, pp. 198-99.

9 PAC, MG13, WO1, Vol. 538, fols. 450-53.

10 Glenn A. Steppler, op. cit.

11 C.P. Stacey, Canada and the British Army, 1846-1871. A Study in the Practice of Responsible Government (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1936). They deal with this subject several times.

12 On this subject, see the work of André Charbonneau, Yvon Desloges and Marc Lafrance, Parks Canada, on the fortifications in Quebec City, which will soon be published by Editions du Pélican. They explain the overly rapid growth of the city and note, among other things, that the properties set aside by the French engineers for future lots in the city had been kept and used by the British after the Conquest as the future site of the citadel, instead of being reserved for the city's future development. About 50 acres were involved and there were only 180 acres within the surrounding wall. We can see why the city overflowed so quickly.

13 PAC, MG13, WO1, Vol. 537, pp. 833-37.

14 PAC, MG11, Q, Vol. 4, pp. 164-68.

15 François J. Cugnet, Traité des Anciennes Lois de Propriété en Canada aujourd'hui Province de Québec and Traité de la loi des fiefs (Quebec, 1775).

16 On this subject, see the document reproduced in Appendix C.

17 PAC, RG1, L3L, Vol. 17, pp. 7640-47.

18 PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 601, pp. 180-84 and Vol. 603, pp. 91-93; RG1, L3L, Vol. 162, p. 78962-78974.

Requests, Problems and Lawsuits

1 PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 65.

2 This is the date of the second incorporation. On this subject, see Murielle Doyle-Frenière, Etat sommaire des archives de la ville de Québec (Quebec: Quebec City, 1977), p. 5.

3 Québec. Archives de la Ville (hereafter cited as AVQ), Série II: Conseil de ville de la Corporation de Québec - Correspondance; série V: Chemins - Correspondance.

4 PAC, RG8, I. Vol. 600, pp. 72-73 and 175.

5 PAC, RG1, L3L, Vol. 141, pp. 69162-69164; Vol. 162, pp. 79055-58.

6 PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 157, pp. 34-37.

7 PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 601, pp. 4-5, Vol. 426, pp. 5-8.

8 AVQ, série II, 3b, dossier 167.

9 PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 600, pp. 222-23.

10 PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 526, pp. 84-86.

11 PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 1631, pp. 149-63.

12 PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 1411, pp. 193 and 211.

13 PAC, MG13, WO44, Vol. 42, pp. 481-90.

14 PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 1416, p. 267; Vol. 1417, pp. 127-28; MG13, WO44, Vol. 48, pp. 436-51.

15 PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 1633, pp. 106-11.

16 AVQ, II, 1b, Vol. 4, p. 546.

17 PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 1334, p. 32; Vol. 599, pp. 89-99; Vol. 386, pp. 5-11b.

18 PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 459, pp. 192-95; Vol. 460, pp. 30-33.

19 PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 600, pp. 173-74 and 191-197; Vol. 416, pp. 114-15.

20 PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 599, pp. 52-53; The Quebec Mercury 21 Nov. 1837; 17 and 19 Dec. 1839; 15 Sept., 5 and 15 Dec. 1840.

21 The problem of the smallest of the gates recurs often, but the military authorities were regularly reminded from 1850 on. See, for example, AVQ, II, 3b, Vol. 4, pp. 23-24 and 212-13; PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 1579, pp. 38-41; Vol. 1411, pp. 134-50.

22 PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 457, pp. 57-66; RG4, C1, Vol. 140, Item 3044; these are only examples.

23 PAC, MG13, WO44, Vol. 41, Fol. 112-311.

24 PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 599, pp. 6-7; Vol. 600A, pp. 41, 51-53; Vol. 425, pp. 165-68.

25 PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 441, pp. 108-13, 132-34; Vol. 451, pp. 26-27; MG12, WO44, Vol. 43, pp. 287-89; WO55, Vol. 876, p. 255.

26 AVQ, V, D2b, letters 1847-1849, items 99-104; PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 460, pp. 132-52; Vol. 466, pp. 155-58, Vol. 1407, pp. 129-30.

27 PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 434, pp. 35-36.

28 PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 460, pp. 139-52.

29 PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 1634, pp. 285-94.

30 PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 604, pp. 81-83, AVQ, II, 3b, Vol. 1, item 250.

31 PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 1407, pp. 92-94.

32 PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 600, pp. 19-21; see also newspapers of the period, which repeatedly mention the problem.

33 PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 603, pp. 176-93; Vol. 599, pp. 47-60, 153-55, 211-13, 218-19, 223-25; Vol. 600, pp. 170-72, 207-9; Vol. 601, pp. 2, 13-18, 49-53, 78-84, 101-9.

34 PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 600, pp. 199-205, 224-25; Vol. 604, pp. 149-54.

35 The Quebec Mercury, Vol. 32, No. 107, 3 Sept. 1836.

36 PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 600, pp. 173-74.

37 AVQ, II, 3b, item 167.

38 PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 1399, pp. 55-58.

39 PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 603, pp. 257-61; Vol. 460, pp. 47-50.

40 La Gazette de Québec, 15 July 1773, 3 Jan. 1793, 31 Oct. 1811; The Quebec Mercury, 3 June 1823.

41 *The Quebec Mercury*, 16 Aug. 1832, 18 Oct. 1836.
42 PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 604, pp. 115-16.
43 PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 599, pp. 58-60.
44 PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 601, pp. 55-56.
45 PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 1416, pp. 27-28.
46 PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 459, pp. 26-35.
47 PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 1407, pp. 255-56.
48 PAC, RG1, L3L, Vol. 76, pp. 38059-38061.
49 PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 599, pp. 220-22; Vol. 602, pp. 4-8; Vol. 603, pp. 58-80.
50 Loc. cit.
51 PAC, RG1, L3L, Vol. 200, pp. 94360-943388.
52 PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 571, pp. 13-41.
53 PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 409, pp. 143-75.
54 PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 107, p. 94; these petitions were brought to the attention of the authorities from 1836 on.
55 PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 600, pp. 92-94.
56 Canada. Department of Justice. File relating to the Dufferin Terrace, File 28/1868; *see also* Willis Chapman, "The Life and Times of Major Samuel Holland, Surveyor General 1764-1801," *Ontario Historical Society Papers and Records*. Vol. XXI (1924), pp. 1-90.
57 PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 1632, pp. 293-300.
58 PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 494, p. 341.
59 PAC, MG23, GII, 19, pp. 22-23.
60 PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 599, pp. 20-22.
61 Québec. Archives Nationales (hereafter cited as ANQ), Québec-Bas Canada, 28, Vol. 41, passim; PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 402, pp. 122-24, 145-46.
62 These were the 1801 and 1818 plans.
63 This is merely a passing reference; the documentation is much too extensive for us to deal with the problems in this study. Each of these suits could be the subject of a lengthy study.
64 PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 460, pp. 196-97.
65 PAC, MG13, WO44, Vol. 47, pp. 398-402.
66 QCA, XV, D, Vol. 2, item 99.
67 PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 1399, pp. 55-58.

Quebec City and Military Property

1 Louis Beaudet, *Québec: ses monuments anciens et modernes ou Vade Mecum des citoyens et des touristes* (Québec: La Société historique de Québec, 1973); *Histoire de la maison Maillou* (Quebec: Chambre de Commerce du District de Québec, n.d.); Louis Richer, *La redoute Dauphine à Québec*, Manuscript Report Series No. 104 (Ottawa: Parks Canada, 1973); Pierre-Georges Roy, "Une vieille maison de Québec, le Commisariat," *Bulletin des Recherches historiques* 48, No. 12 (Dec. 1942), pp. 362-64. These are only examples, as will be the case in subsequent endnotes.
2 Raoul Blanchard, *L'Est du Canada français: "Province de Québec"* (Montreal: Beauchemin, 1935), Vol. 2, pp. 217-18; Clément Brown, *Québec, croissance d'une ville* (Quebec: Les Presses universitaires Laval, 1952), p. 39; Gérard Morisset, *Québec et son évolution. Essai* (Quebec: La Société historique de Québec, 1952), p. 16.

3 C. Doughty, *The Cradle of New France, a Story of the City Founded by Champlain* (London: Longmans, Green and Company, 1901); *The Fortress of Quebec, 1603-1903* (Quebec: Dussault and Proulx, 1904). Alfred Hawkins, *Hawkin's Picture of Quebec with Historical Recollections* (Quebec: Neilson and Cowan, 1834). James M. Le Moine, *Quebec Past and Present, A History of Quebec 1608-1876* (Quebec: Augustin Côté Co., 1876).

4 Joseph Bouchette, *Description topographique de la province du Bas-Canada* (London: W. Faden, 1815); Edward H. Dahl, Hélène Espesset, Marc Lafrance and Thiery Ruddell, op. cit.; *see also* on this subject, Marc Lafrance and Thiery Ruddell; "Eléments de l'urbanisation de la ville de Québec, 1790-1840," *Revue d'histoire urbaine*, Vol. I (June 1975), pp. 22-30; Antonio Drolet, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 11; Fernand Ouellet, *Le Bas-Canada, 1791-1840, Changements structuraux et crise* (hereafter cited as *Le Bas-Canada*) (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1976), p. 360.

5 Brian S. Osborne, "Kingston in the Nineteenth Century: A Study in Urban Decline" in J. David Wood, ed., *Perspectives on Landscape and Settlement in Nineteenth Century Ontario* (Toronto: McLelland and Steward Ltd., 1975), pp. 159-82; John Philp, "The Economic and Social Effects of the British Garrisons on the Development of Western Upper Canada," *Ontario History*, Vol. 41, No. 1 (1949) pp. 37-48; Elinor L. Senior, "An Imperial Garrison in its Colonial Setting: British Regulars in Montreal, *1832-1854*," Ph.D. thesis (Montreal: McGill University, 1976).

6 Claudette Lacelle, op. cit.

7 *See*, on this subject, the "Background" part of our introduction.

8 Fernand Ouellet, *Le Bas Canada*, p. 251. Ouellet states that the proportion of Anglophones grew from 28% in 1795 to 45% in 1831. *See also* the same author, *Eléments d'histoire sociale du Bas-Canada* (Montreal: Hurtubise HMH Ltée, 1972), pp. 177-202.

9 *See* preceding chapter.

10 We find, among others, the following groups: The Mechanics' Institute, The Quebec Turf Club, La Société historique et littéraire de Québec, The Emigrants' Society, The Protestant Cemetery Association, The Canadian Military Asylum and The Grand Trunk Railway.

11 This is in fact the ratio obtained when we determine that 28 of the 55 requests were granted between 1841-71, compared to 27 of 78 in previous years.

12 *See*, on this subject, the chapter entitled "Principles of Acquisition and Legal Implications."

13 We consulted the maps and plans preserved in the PAC and QCA.

14 This figure 76 was obtained by adding the area of the bastions to hat of the other properties listed in Table 1; the figure of 180 is taken from Jervois' report of 1864 (PAC, RG8, II, Vol. 20, p. 15); *see also* William Francis Drummond Jervois, *Report on the Defence of Canada and the British Naval Stations in the North Atlantic Together with Observations on the Defence of New Brunswick* (London: Queen's Printer, 1864).

15 The iconography of the period is very interesting and it would be helpful to consult the work of Christina Cameron and Jean Trudel,

The Drawings of James Cockburn. A Visit Through Quebec's Past (Toronto: Gage Publishing, 1976).

16 Claudette Lacelle, op. cit. Our studies on the garrison from 1764 to 1840 indicate that the Jesuit Barracks usually held nearly one thousand soldiers.

17 Ibid., p. 44. This is the aspect one sees from reading the newspapers of the time; citizens note, among other problems, the habitant's need for a doctor at night.

18 Ouellet, op. cit.; John Hare, "La population de la ville de Québec, 1795-1805," *Histoire sociale*, Vol. 7 (May 1974), pp. 23-37, Ottawa; Jean-Pierre Wallot, *Un Québec qui bougeait, trame socio-politique au tournant du XIX^{e} siècle* (Quebec: Les Editions du Boréal Express, 1973); *Patronage et pouvoir dans le Bas-Canada*, 1794-1812 (Montreal: Les presses de l'université du Québec, 1973).

19 Everyone has noted this in passing, but *see* especially William Weir, *Sixty years in Canada* (Montreal: John Lovell and Son, 1903), pp. 134-83.

20 PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 79, pp. 109-13 and 197-98; *see also* Elinor Laurie Senior, op. cit., pp. 510-51.

21 PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 601, pp. 112-15. These were the properties near the King's Wood Yard, sold in 1820, for which no payment had yet been made by 1828. *See also*, the Dufresne file in PAC, MG13, WO44, Vol. 40, pp. 473-500.

22 Fernand Ouellet, *Le Bas Canada*, p. 360.

23 PAC, MG13, WO44, Vol. 41, Fol. 65-311.

24 The documentation on this subject is so extensive that we refer the reader to the bibliography compiled by André Bérubé for his thesis on the Orsainville seigneury. André Bérubé, "Eléments de bibliographie sur le régime seigneurial au Canada-français," term paper, University of Ottawa, 1970.

25 Newspapers of the time abound in statements of this type; we noted this in our study on the British garrison, during which we examined *The Quebec Mercury* (1805-40), *La Gazette de Québec* (1764-1840) and *Le Canadien* (1806-40).

26 Here we refer to the relationships between members of the well-to-do class officers and landowners. A number of authors have emphasized the friendliness of these relationships.

27 The names of Panet, Coffin, Bélanger, Sewell, Christie and Cannon often recur in Ouellet, and every work on the Irish mentions John Cannon.

28 For example, the names of Bélanger, Petitclair, Panet, Massue and Pelletier recur in the churchwardens' lists. *See* our list in Appendix E.

29 PAC, RG1, L3L, Vol. 29-210.

30 PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 602, pp. 4-8; Vol. 603, pp. 57-80.

31 PAC, RG1, L3L, Vol. 76, pp. 37181-38074.

32 We cannot mention every case here, as this would involve a large part of the documentation. We can, however, draw attention to the case of Joly de Lotbinière, who was advised not to build on his property outside the Saint-Louis Gate in 1805 (PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 599, pp. 139-42) but with whom no agreement was reached until 1846.

33 PAC, MG13, WO44, Vol. 43, Vol. 92-240. The file is extensive.
34 PAC, MG13, WO44, Vol. 44, Fol. 224-41.
35 *Dictionnaire biographique du Canada* (Quebec: Les Presses de l'université Laval, 1966-), Vol. IX, s.v. "Archibald Campbell."
36 PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 1254, pp. 14-15.
37 PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 602, pp. 64-175; MG13, WO44, Vol. 40, Fol. 473-500.
38 This study is already underway for Quebec City; it is the subject of a thesis being prepared by Jean-Pierre Gagnon.
39 PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 1579, pp. 38-41.
40 Ibid.
41 Some authors have begun to deal with this issue. *See*, Marc Lafrance, "Evolution physique et politique urbaines: Québec sous le régime français," *Revue d'histoire urbaine*, Vol. 3 (1975), pp. 3-22.

Conclusion
1 Antonio Drolet, op. cit. These names recur frequently in these two volumes.
2 *See*, on this subject, the studies on Artillery Park and the British garrison mentioned in the introduction.
3 Here we refer to the research of Christian Rioux on the regiments that occupied the Artillery Barracks (*see* the first paper of this volume).
4 Jean-Pierre Hardy and Thiery Ruddell, *Les apprentis artisans à Québec 1660-1815* (Montreal: Les Presses de l'université de Québec, 1977).
5 We refer to Jean-Pierre Gagnon's doctoral thesis on property in Quebec.

Sources of Illustrations
1 Public Archives Canada (hereafter cited as PAC), C 55478
2 Ibid., C 53159
3 Ibid., C 55480
4 Quebec City Archives D-344-12, Vol. 2, No. 39.
5 PAC, C 55346
6 Ibid., C 70729
7 Ibid., C 70725
8 Ibid., C 93419
9 Ibid., C 52885
10 Ibid., C 53157
11 Ibid., C 53160

Appendix A
1 Curves derived from statistics described in Chapters II and III.

Appendix B
1 PAC, MG13, WO1, Vol. 538, Fol. 450-53.

Appendix C
1 PAC, MG12, WO44, Vol. 38, Fol. 8-9.

Appendix D

1 PAC, MG13, WO44, Vol. 41, Fol. 112-311.

Appendix E

1 List compiled from documentation consulted.

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